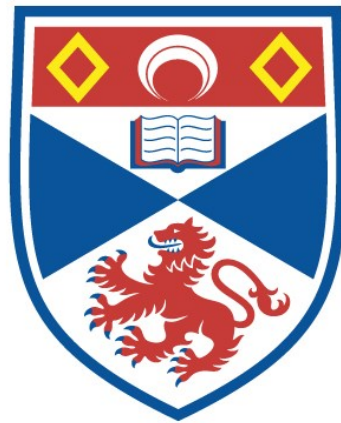


CURANDEIRISMO IN THE RECONCAVO OF BAHIA : A
STUDY IN CULTURAL SYNCRETISM BASED ON THE
FUSION OF AFRICAN, INDIGENOUS AND EUROPEAN
CURING PRACTICES

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ABSTRACT

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EUROPEAN CURING PRACTICES.

The study records thaumaturgic methods of curing and preventing illness and misfortune as practised by curandeiros (curers, folk doctors) using an ethnographic-linguistic approach based on fieldwork in the Recôncavo area of the State of Bahia in Northeast Brazil. The Recôncavo is a fairly narrow strip of land surrounding the Bay of All the Saints with its social and economic focus at Salvador, the capital of Bahia State. The study is structured to give particular attention to an examination of the religious bases on which these practices may be founded, to include Candomblé de caboclo, an acculturated form of Candomblé, a religion of African origin which became rooted in this area with the importation of slaves, principally from West Africa from the middle of the sixteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth; Catholicism as introduced by the Portuguese and other Iberian colonisers; indigenous religions and Spiritism. Points of similarity in curing methods that may have existed among African, European and indigenous cultures represented in the Recôncavo are also examined in an attempt to trace how some of these similarities may have fused in a gradual process of syncretism to produce curandeirismo as it exists in the area today. The study is concluded with an

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assessment of the extent to which curandeirismo is practised in the Recôncavo and the likelihood of its survival.

Proceeding from a brief historical survey of the Recôncavo and its colonisation, development and economy, the writer examines the different religious currents brought by colonisation and population movement, giving a resumé of the main doctrines of Spiritism and an account of traditional Candomblé to include an exposition of the patterns of belief on which the present Candomblé de caboclo is based. He then discusses the persistence and evolution of African religion in Brazil, and the dual rôle of the priest and curer in African-based religion. Aspects of the curing process such as ritual beating, fumigation, bathing and symbolic purgation of evil are then examined, together with details of ritual procedure and the incantations which accompany many of them. Powders and herbs, their properties and uses are then analysed. The function and composition of amulets in preventing and curing illness is then studied, as is the use of curing prayers, a number of which are transcribed and annotated.

The study is illustrated with maps and photographs. Herbs employed in the rituals discussed are listed in appendices, and there is a glossary of non-English terms.



Th 8850

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me on the basis of work done by me in St. Andrews, Brazil and Spain, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree. I was admitted under General Ordinance No. 12 in October 1972.

Candidate

I certify that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations relating to the Degree of Ph.D. have been fulfilled.

Supervisor

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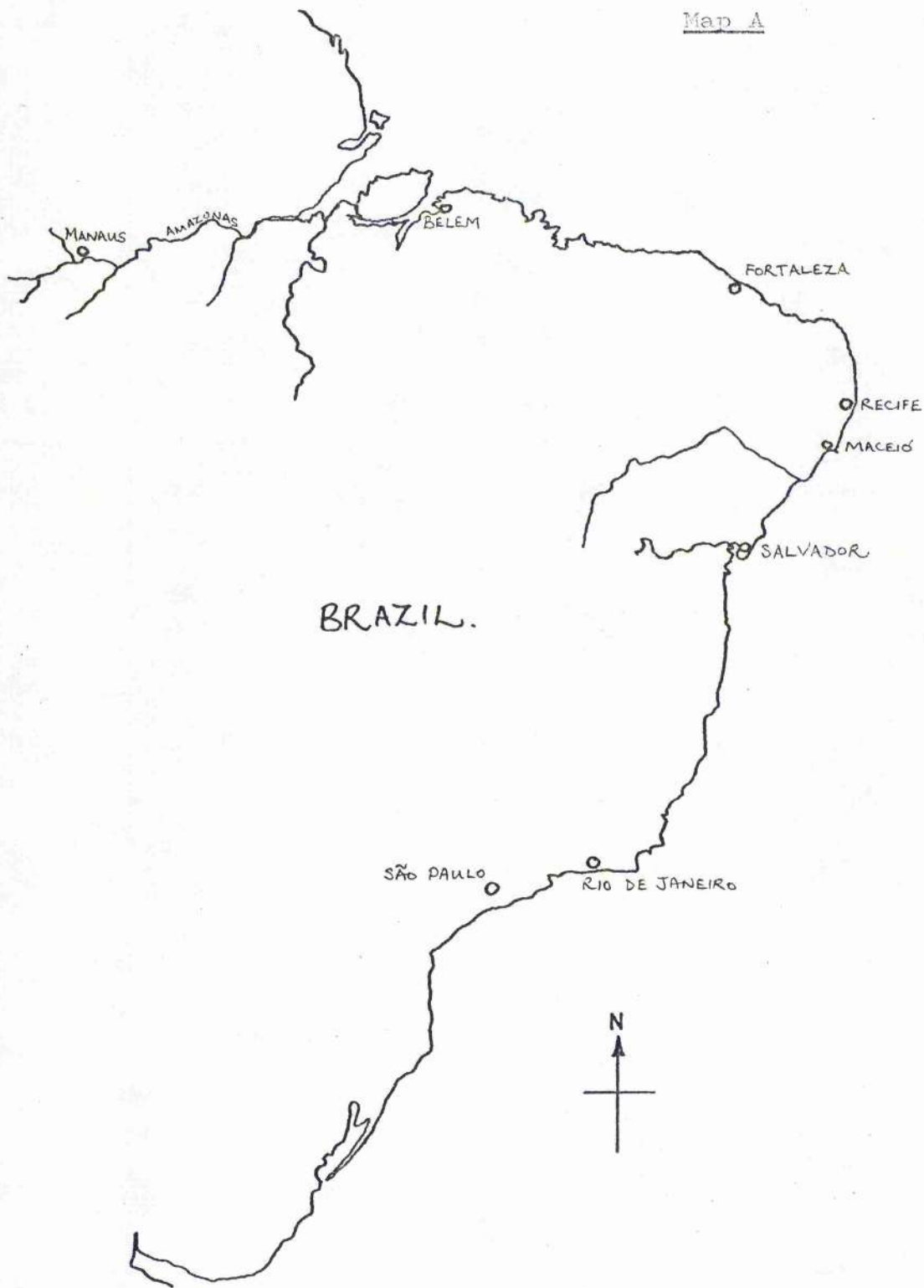
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ABBREVIATIONS

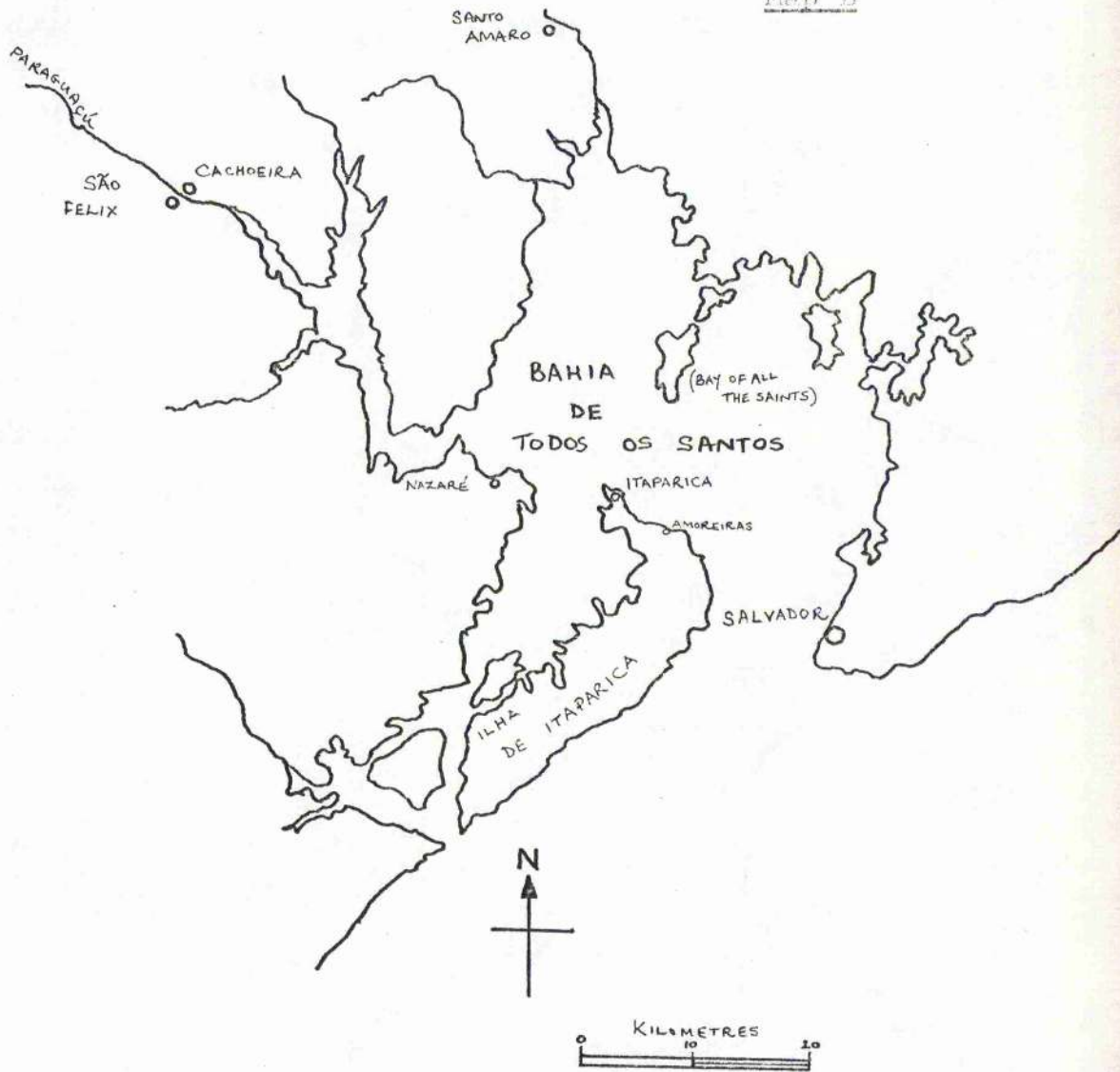
<u>A.A.</u>	: American Anthropologist.
<u>A.C.</u>	: Actas Ciba. n.p. (São Paulo?).
<u>A.C.I.E.</u>	: Actas do Congresso Internacional de Etnografia - promovido pela Câmara Municipal de Santo Tirso de 10 a 18 de julho de 1963.
<u>C.A.</u>	: Dicionário Caldas Aulete.
<u>C.L.A.L.S.</u>	: Centre for Latin American Linguistic Studies, University of St. Andrews.
<u>H.S.A.I.</u>	: Handbook of South American Indians, Washington.
<u>I.B.G.E.</u>	: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística.
<u>J.A.F.</u>	: Journal of American Folklore.
<u>J.A.S.</u>	: Journal of Asian Studies.
<u>J.R.A.I.</u>	: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
n.d.	: no date of publication given.
n.p.	: no place of publication given.
<u>O.E.D.</u>	: Oxford English Dictionary.
<u>R.A.M.</u>	: Revista do Arquivo Municipal (São Paulo).
<u>R.D.T.P.</u>	: Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares.
<u>R.E.</u>	: Revista de Etnografia, Porto.
<u>R.I.H.G.B.</u>	: Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro.
<u>S.C.C.F.</u>	: Sub-Comissão Catarinense de Folclore: Boletim Trimestral.

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Map A

THE RECONCAVO

Map B



EXPLANATORY NOTE

Non-English terms in Chapter I are translated briefly for immediate clarification but they are dealt with at greater length in relevant sections of the text and/or in the glossary.

Prayers and/or incantations given by informants have been given a line-by-line translation with the English on the right hand side and the original on the left. Other translations (i.e. brief terms; comments quoted verbatim from informants; quotations from other sources) are given in parentheses in the text wherever this has been deemed necessary for an adequate understanding.

All African and Tupi terms are transcribed according to recognised Brazilian Portuguese orthography. Where it has been impossible to identify African terms these have been transcribed likewise in the text for ease of reading, and phonetically in Appendix 3. Each word or group of words transcribed in such a way in the text is marked with an asterisk and is identified in the Appendix by its relevant page number.

Herbs, plants and trees are given in the text according to their popular names and listed alphabetically in Appendix 1, together with a résumé of all the main details concerning them. Wherever possible suggestions have been made as to their botanical identity but it is pointed out that this information has been gleaned mainly from botanical dictionaries and other published sources and should be used

only as a guide as to their probable true identity. Popular names for herbs vary considerably throughout Brazil hence sources often give two or more possible botanical names. All possible alternatives have been given wherever this has been deemed necessary. For ease of reference, Appendix 2 lists these botanical names alphabetically with their probable Brazilian Portuguese equivalents.

All details concerning published sources quoted can be found in the bibliography. In some cases when a new edition of an important work is referred to in the text, the date of the first edition is given followed by the new edition and other pertinent details.

INTRODUCTION

A. The purpose of this study

The purpose of this study is to record thaumaturgic methods of curing and preventing illness and misfortune as practised by curandeiros (curers, folk doctors) using an ethnographic linguistic approach based on fieldwork in the Recôncavo¹ area of the State of Bahia, Northeast Brazil. Particular attention is given to:

- 1 an examination of the religious bases on which these practices may be founded namely: Candomblé de caboclo (an acculturated form of Candomblé, a religion of Yoruba origin)²; Catholicism (and pre-Christian survivals inherent in Catholicism) as introduced by the Portuguese and other Iberian colonisers; indigenous religions; Spiritism.
- 2 an examination of points of similarity in curing methods that may have existed among the African, European and indigenous cultures that are represented in varying degrees in the Recôncavo.
- 3 an attempt to trace how some of these points of similarity may have fused to produce curandeirismo as it exists in its present form, or remained untouched by outside influences.
- 4 an assessment of the extent to which curandeirismo is practised in the Recôncavo and of the likelihood of its survival.

1 See below 17 for the geographical situation of this area.

2 For an explanation and discussion of this Yoruba term see below 45, 47ff.. The rôle of curing in Candomblé proper has been touched on briefly by Bastide (1950).

B. The arrangement of material

After an introductory chapter (I) and a discussion of the social and religious history of the area studied (II), chapters are arranged to show the use of herbs, fundamental to curandeirismo in this area (III), and curing methods (IV-X) to include a detailed discussion of ingredients and prayers employed.

It will be observed that the first three chapters are based mainly on documentary and library research with only periodic reference being made to informants in order to corroborate and emphasise certain of the points made. Considerably more emphasis is laid on evidence collected during fieldwork in ensuing chapters. It should be noted that any observation which is not supported by a reference to an informant or to a published source is based on personal experience.

A brief synopsis of each chapter follows:

Chapter I

- A. An introduction to the Recôncavo area of Bahia; its importance historically; the social and economic rôle it plays in the constitution of present-day Brazil.
- B. Fieldwork: an indication of where fieldwork was carried out, and a list of all informants with their main biographical details.

Chapter II

- A. A brief historical survey of the three main ethnic groups (African, European, Amerindian) that have contributed towards the creation of Candomblé de caboclo. These are discussed in the following ways:
- (i) The initial rôle played by Indians of Tupi stock in the early development of the sugar plantations in Northeast Brazil; their swift indoctrination by the Jesuits.
 - (ii) The slave trade and the principal African tribes that were represented among the slave population of colonial Brazil; colonial policy with regard to numbers and social groupings of members of different tribes.
 - (iii) The places of origin in Portugal of many of the early Portuguese settlers.
- B. A brief survey of the main doctrines of Spiritism and how it has gained a powerful hold in Brazil.
- C. The development of African religions in Brazil, and a detailed survey of traditional Candomblé to include an explanation of the terminology used and patterns of belief on which a large part of Candomblé de caboclo is based; Candomblé de caboclo and the reasons for its increasing popularity at the expense of traditional Candomblé.
- D. The function of the priest as curandeiro and adviser; the overlap between illness per se and personal problems that may be cured and/or resolved by similar methods.

Chapter III

The importance of the rôle of herbs in most of the curing practices described and discussed in this study; use and taboos surrounding these herbs in an historical perspective; parallels between mediaeval European and Yoruba practices.

Chapter IV

Sacudida (the ritual beating of leaves and/or twigs over the body in order to frighten away illness): a discussion of points of similarity between African, European and indigenous practices; the herbs employed and a description of the ritual as witnessed.

Chapter V

Fumigation: the importance of fire as a cleansing agent and its combination with certain substances for the purposes of fumigation; the ingredients employed in the Recôncavo, both of marketed and non-marketed varieties; the distinction between substances employed to attract good and repel evil; the herbs used in fumigation and the deities who control them; a description of ritual and a transcription of prayers and chants that normally accompany such ritual.

Chapter VI

Ritual baths: the importance of water as a purifying agent in African, European and indigenous practice; the constituent ingredients of ritual baths and the purposes for which these baths are prescribed.

Chapter VII

Pemba (a powder made mainly from herbs).

- A. Marketed varieties that are available; their purported properties.
- B. Home-made varieties of pemba: ingredients, including discussion of herbs employed; a transcription of chants and prayers that accompany its preparation; ritual.
- C. Pemba de Exú (black pemba used for evil purposes). Its manufacture and ingredients; a transcription of prayers that accompany its preparation; ritual.

Chapter VIII

Amulets:

- A. The function of amulets and the importance of the substance out of which they are made.
- B. 'Simple' amulets: the figa; animal teeth/horns; cowrie shells; garlic; pentangle; rings; herbs; nuts; seeds.
- C. 'Complex' amulets: patuás/breves (small bag worn round the neck containing a brief prayer or charm and other special ingredients); some prescriptions obtained; transcriptions of prayers/charms included in the patuá; transcription of a prayer recited during manufacture of a patuá.

Chapter IX

A reza (the curing prayer).

- A. Ritual; the herbs employed.

- B. Curing prayers and their relation to myth; the treatment of illness among many cultures by reciting myth and re-enacting the actions of the gods.
- C. Transcriptions of prayers for specific illnesses, and accompanying ritual where appropriate.
- D. Concluding remarks: certain archaisms in the Portuguese employed in the prayers; corruptions of certain words/phrases; close links to the science of astrology.

Chapter X

Ebó (rubbing of an object over the body in order to be cleansed of evil).

- A. 'Simple' ebó: performed by an individual on himself.
- B. 'Complex' ebó: performed usually by a curandeiro on an individual in cases of serious illnesses or misfortune; a discussion of the possible causes of the illness or misfortune; a description of ebó designed specifically to rid the patient of an egun (spirit of the dead); the ingredients employed; a description of ritual. A description of ebó designed specifically to rid the patient of an Exú (god of African origin associated with evil); the ingredients employed; a description of ritual; prayers and incantations employed.
- C. The possible extension of 'complex' ebó involving supplementary rituals and sacrifices.

Chapter XI

Conclusion.

CHAPTER ITHE AREA OF STUDY

A.

(i) Bahia today: statistical data

Brazil, the fifth largest country in the world (area 3,286,647 square miles)¹, is divided into 25 states of which Bahia is one of the largest (342,000 square miles)². The capital, Salvador (or Bahia, the name being applied locally both to the State and the capital) has a population of 1,314,000 (as calculated in 1974) out of a total national population of 104,000,000¹. Bahia, together with the States of Sergipe, Alagoas, Paraíba, Pernambuco, Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte, falls within the larger region known as the Nordeste³ which was once the economically dominant area of Brazil but which has now declined in favour of the more prosperous industrial and urbanised South, balanced by the decline in importance of the traditional plantation system of agriculture which has occurred simultaneously. The Nordeste still supports 25 per cent of the total population of Brazil on only 11 per cent of her land⁴.

1 Statistics taken from the Investors Chronicle, London, 4-7-1975.

2 Pierson 1967:10.

3 Freyre dedicates a whole volume to this region: see Freyre 1946.

4 Henshall and Momsen 1974:66, on whom I draw for much of the information in this section.

Bahia is still an important sugar producer, sugar cane being the major crop grown in the coastal zone from Paraíba southwards, and also produces 95 per cent of Brazil's cocoa. This industry is centred in the south of the state around Ilhéus. Coffee, sisal and piassava are grown on a lesser scale and tobacco continues to be an important export. Natural deposits have begun to be exploited more recently and Bahia now produces 100 per cent of Brazil's barite, 96 per cent of magnesite, 81 per cent of petroleum and 73 per cent of her lead⁵. Copper ore deposits have been discovered and natural gas and oil are also being exploited. The industrial centre of Aratú, on the outskirts of Salvador, is the site of an important aluminium smelting plant.

However, to a large extent, technical and industrial progress in this part of Brazil have been considerably more rapid than advances in the social services, and educational and medical facilities, particularly in rural areas, tend to be deficient. In the industrial zone of the South of Brazil, for example, 1974 statistics show that there is one doctor per 1,600 inhabitants and 1 hospital bed available per 200, while in the Northeast, there is only one doctor per 5,700 and only one hospital bed per 630.

5 Henshall and Momsen 1974:115-116 (figures for 1970).

(ii) The Recôncavo: its geography and history.

The Recôncavo is a fairly narrow strip of land surrounding the Bay of All the Saints (see maps). It is about 60 miles long and about 30 miles wide at its widest point. It is an exceptionally fertile region, well-watered and with a soil type (massapé) particularly suited to the cultivation of sugar and tobacco. It was formerly a centre of large landholdings, owned by the type of rural aristocracy which characterised colonial Brazil and founded on slavery and a patriarchal social system⁶. It was one of the first areas to be colonised by the Portuguese, Salvador having been established in 1502 as one of the first permanent European trading posts, primarily concerned with the export of Brazil-wood⁷. The actual discovery of Brazil in 1500 is attributed to Pedro Alvares Cabral, but recent research has shown it is likely that Phoenician traders reached the Northeast coast in the sixth century B.C.⁸.

In the early years of the sixteenth century, French trade in Brazil-wood predominated over Portuguese, but in 1530, in order to establish Portuguese supremacy, the authorities in Lisbon divided the coastal area of Brazil into 12 capitanias each administered by representatives of the Crown and colonisation began to increase. Sugar was introduced from Madeira shortly after this and the first African slaves began to be imported in 1538 to work on the sugar plantations⁹. By 1587 there were already

⁶ See Freyre 1946, especially 24, 43, 175.

⁷ Pau-Brasil, a dyewood with a rich red hue.

⁸ Henshall and Nomsen 1974:33.

⁹ See below, 31.

47 engenhos (sugar plantations and mills) within a radius of Salvador¹⁰.

The first Portuguese immigrants were, for the most part, degredados, virtually expelled from Portugal for criminal, religious or political offences; impoverished nobles, and prostitutes and orphan girls sent by the Court to provide wives for the male immigrants. Many mixed with women of Indian stock from indigenous tribes who had on the whole proved friendly since the arrival of the first traders, with whom they had cooperated, exchanging labour and the Brazil-wood of their forests for trinkets and axes¹¹.

The coastal tribes of Brazil in the early sixteenth century were for the most part a fairly settled and culturally advanced people, in comparison with the tribes inhabiting the interior. The area around Bahia (Salvador) was settled by Tupinambá and Tupiniquin tribes who were of a peaceful disposition in contrast with the fierce and culturally more backward Botocudo who sacked and laid waste Tupinambá and Tupiniquin villages periodically, even after colonisation, killing Indians and Portuguese alike¹².

The Indians contributed in many ways to the foundations of Brazilian culture, from methods of preparing food to the introduction of the hammock to replace the European bed, and even more significantly, to the physical appearance

¹⁰ Pierson 1967:7.

¹¹ Henshall and Momsen 1974:34.

¹² Henshall and Momsen 1974:11, 15.

and characteristics of the average Brazilian today¹³. Their contribution to the religious sphere will be discussed in Chapter II.

(iii) The cultural heritage of the Recôncavo

The significance of the early sugar plantation economy, however, must be seen in a much wider perspective and not simply as the means whereby the Portuguese Crown and the early colonisers derived income. It laid the foundations for a whole system of land tenure and land use which persisted for centuries, and still persists in some areas¹⁴. In the same way, it provided a base for Brazilian social and economic institutions and is thus of enduring importance. In physical terms it should be seen as the underlying cause of the intense miscegenation which characterises the State of Bahia¹⁵ and of the consequent cultural syncretism that is a marked feature of life in Salvador and the Recôncavo.

13 For a fuller discussion of these survivals and contributions see Freyre 1946:81-184; Azevedo 1969:57-152; Pierson 1967:111-137; Henshall and Momsen 1974:9-32; Ott 1955:18-34.

14 However, this pattern was somewhat modified in the Recôncavo, as Henshall and Momsen point out (1974:37), by the concentration on tobacco and diversification into the produce of food crops for commercial markets.

15 See Appendix 5.

B.

(i) Fieldwork

Fieldwork was carried out over a ten-month period from July 1973 to April 1974 in the Recôncavo, based on three centres: Itaparica, on the island of Itaparica in the Bay of All the Saints; Cachoeira, a town on the River Paraguassú some 85 miles from Salvador; and Salvador, the State capital. From these centres regular trips were made to villages and outlying rural districts to obtain as representative a survey as possible within the defined geographical limits. Itaparica was chosen as a centre for study because of its semi-isolation from the rest of the Recôncavo as an island. It is now linked to the mainland by a regular ferry service and is joined on the southwestern side by a bridge, but was for many years accessible only by canoe or similar small craft. Cachoeira, on the other hand, was chosen by virtue of its central position in the interior of the Recôncavo, having long been a key trading centre and market town providing a link between the sertão¹⁶ and the coast, based on economic factors but providing a centre for cultural exchange at the same time. It has a much larger population than Itaparica, although Itaparica is the capital of the island, and has in the past been more affected by external influences, notably the German-owned tobacco factories

¹⁶ The interior hinterland. The term sertão covers an enormous area of the Northeastern interior, from Bahia to Ceará.

situated at São Félix immediately opposite Cachoeira on the River Paraguassú. Cachoeira reached its peak in terms of economic prosperity and population density in the middle of the nineteenth century and has now declined in both these respects, but continues to be a focal point in the social and economic life of the Recôncavo. Salvador, the State capital, with its population of over a million, was chosen as representative of a large urban centre in the process of industrialization and also as the nucleus of the Recôncavo. This concentrated fieldwork was complemented by a stay of two weeks in Rio de Janeiro (1973) and Galicia (1975) respectively. The period spent in Galicia enabled me to establish definitively the Iberian origin of certain practices and to trace other similarities in present-day curing practices.

(ii) Informants

In and around each of the three centres, contact was established with a number of informants involved in different ways with curandeirismo and interviews were carried out with them covering as wide a field of inquiry as possible within the scope of the study, to obtain a balanced general viewpoint and, simultaneously, a corpus of data of a more specific and peculiar nature. Informants were of both sexes and all ages, but tended to belong to lower socio-economic groups¹⁷. Through informants entry as an observer

¹⁷ People in higher socio-economic groups were found to be unwilling to admit any connection with curandeirismo or Candomblé and displayed a dismissive or disapproving attitude, even though, on occasions, they were known to be, or have been, participants in associated rituals.

was obtained to a number of rituals of a normally secret or restricted nature, and in some cases the taking of photographs and/or making of tape-recordings was permitted as a favour. Regular attendance at Candomblé festivals and rites of a public nature, and at sessões espíritas (séances) complemented findings in personal interviews and rituals such as those mentioned above.

Informants on the whole were willing to provide assistance, though some insisted on limiting the information they were prepared to give, principally on account of an obligation not to reveal certain cult secrets they had sworn to keep on the occasion of their initiation into the priestly hierarchy, or out of fear the individual curing methods, considered by them to be particularly effective, might become known to rival curandeiros. Rivalry was not concealed and there was considerable acrimony between many curandeiros and their respective followers within towns and villages and this was often reflected in contradictory information given¹⁸.

Informants are referred to in the text by means of an initial and number in parenthesis. In each case, the initial refers to the location in which the informant lived (e.g.: I = Itaparica, C = Cachoeira, S = Salvador, P = Pataxó, R = Rio de Janeiro and G = Galicia) and the number to the informant in question. Basic biographical details in respect of each informant are given below to establish, where possible

¹⁸ See for example Appendix I concerning herbs.

- (i) sex
- (ii) age
- (iii) colour¹⁹
- (iv) family situation
- (v) civil status
- (vi) own or husband's occupation
- (vii) economic status within own socio-economic group
- (viii) literacy
- (ix) whether or not a cult initiate and if so, status in cult
- (x) dominant orixá²⁰

Informants are listed below. Names are not given as the majority of informants specifically requested that their names should not be published.

- I.1 Woman, 37. Dark mulata. Mother of large family. Married. Cleaner/washerwoman. Low economic status. Illiterate. Not cult initiate, but participated in Candomblé and spirit sessions as a medium. Orixá = Yansan.
- I.2 Woman, 45. Black. Mother of large family. Separated²¹. Cleaner, partly supported by adult children in home. Low economic status²². Literate. Initiate. Mãe de santo but with no terreiro²³ of her own. Orixá = Oxossi.
- I.3 Woman, 39. Black. Mother of three. Married. No present employment, formerly nursemaid to middle class Itaparicano family. Low economic status. Illiterate. Initiate. Mãe de santo with small, poor terreiro. Orixá = Yansan.

19 Numerous divisions and sub-divisions of colour are made in Brazil for official and non-official purposes. Wagley (1963) discusses these and their implications in detail. For the purposes of this study it is considered sufficient to use four groupings: black, dark mulato, light mulato and white.

20 God i.e. the god to whom a person may be dedicated within the terms of the Candomblé religion. Again, this point is discussed in full below (47ff).

21 Divorce as such is not permitted in Brazil, but legal separation, desquite, is recognised and provisions are made under the law for desquitados.

22 Mãe de santo: a high priestess in the Candomblé cult. Similarly pai de santo, a high priest. Literally the terms mean mother of the saints and father of the saints, saints here referring to African deities. This is discussed on 50.

23 Cult house.

- I.4 Man, 40. Black. Father of three. Married. Small shopkeeper. Medium-low economic status. Literate. Initiate. Member of priestly hierarchy of egun (spirit of the dead) cult, Amoreiras, Itaparica. Orixá unknown.
- I.5 Man, 38. Black. Father of two, brother of (I.4). Married. Fisherman. Medium economic status. Literate. Initiate. Member of priestly hierarchy of egun cult. Orixá unknown.
- I.6 Woman, 53. White. Mother of four. Married. No employment, husband seaman on mainland ferry service. Relatively prosperous economic status. Literate. Initiate. Mãe de santo with terreiro and house in Salinas (see map B) and presidente of spirit session held twice a month in Itaparica. Orixá = Oxun.
- I.7 Woman, 30. White. Mother of 3, daughter of (I.6). Married. No employment, husband seaman on mainland ferry service. Shares maternal household. Literate. Initiate. Mãe pequena²⁴ of Salinas terreiro and vice-presidente of spirit session in Itaparica. Orixá = Yansan.
- I.8 Woman, 40 approximately. Light mulata²⁵. No family details obtainable. Member of semi-nomadic gipsy community moving about Recôncavo, camping for some months at Bom Despacho, Itaparica. Income mainly derived from selling cheap artefacts and telling fortunes of tourists on island and around Mercado Modelo, Salvador. Very low economic status. Illiterate. Not an initiate.
- C.1 Man, 51. Light mulato. Father of three. Married. No outside employment. Relatively prosperous economic status. Literate. Initiate. Pai de santo with own flourishing terreiro. Orixá = Xangô.
- C.2 Man, 48. Dark mulato. Father of large family. Separated from legal wife, living with mãe pequena of terreiro. No outside employment. Medium-low economic status. Literate. Initiate. Pai de santo with terreiro in front room of own house, also used for spirit sessions, but under guidance of independent presidente. Orixá = Oxossi.
- C.3 Woman, 44. Black. Mother of two. Separated. No outside employment. Relatively prosperous economic status. Literate. Initiate. Mãe de santo with highly commercialised terreiro (neon sign outside advertising consultancy services etc.). Orixá = Martin Pescador.

24 Mãe pequena: assistant to the mãe de santo.

25 This case is an exception in that the woman had no black blood. Mulata here refers purely to her colour.

- C.4 Woman, 70. Black. Mother of large family, great-grandmother. Widow. No employment, supported by family. Low economic status. Illiterate. Initiate. Mãe de santo with own terreiro. Orixá unknown.
- C.5 Man, 47. Dark mulato. No children. Married. No outside employment. Very low economic status. Illiterate. Initiate. Pai de santo, no terreiro. Orixá = Oxossi.
- C.6 Woman, 49. Light mulata. Mother of large family. Married. No employment, husband railway company employee. Medium economic status. Literate. Initiate. Former mãe de santo, at present participant in Candomblé and spirit sessions. Orixá = Yemanjá.
- C.7 Woman, 28. Black. Mother of four. Married. Cleaner/washerwoman, husband night-watchman. Low economic status. Literate. Initiate. Filha de santo²⁶. Orixá = Yansan.
- C.8 Man, 35. White. Father of four, husband of (C.7). Night watchman. Low economic status. Literate. Initiate. Ogã²⁷. Orixá = Oxalá.
- C.9 Woman, 29. Black. Mother of 3. Married. No outside employment. Husband labourer. Low economic status. Illiterate. Initiate. One of youngest mães de santo, own terreiro. Orixá = Ogun.
- C.10 Man, 59. Black. Unmarried. Employee in small commercial enterprise. Relatively prosperous economic status. Literate. Initiate. Pai de santo, own terreiro, Malé cult. Orixá unknown.
- C.11 Man, 19. Light mulato. Unmarried. No employment. Literate. Initiate. Planning to set up own terreiro (completed successfully, 1975). Orixá = Oxossi.
- C.12 Woman, 55. Dark mulata. Mother of large family. Married. No outside employment, husband's occupation unknown. Relatively prosperous economic status. Semi-literate. Initiate. Mãe de santo, newly-built terreiro opened 1974. Orixá = Ogun.
- C.13 Man, 67. White. No children. Married. Retired. Medium economic status. Literate. Not cult initiate.

²⁶ Filha de santo: initiated and fully-participant female cult member. Literally daughter of the saints.

²⁷ Ogã: holder of post of responsibility within the terreiro.

- C.14 Woman, 61. Black. No family details obtainable. Small shopkeeper. Low economic status. Illiterate. Not cult initiate, but participant in Candomblé. Orixá unknown.
- C.15 Woman, 41. Dark mulata. Mother of large family. Separated. Cigar-roller in tobacco factory. Low economic status. Illiterate. Initiate. Filha de santo. Orixá = Omolú.
- S.1 Woman, 57. Black. Mother of large family. Widow. Washerwoman employed in private house. Low economic status, but supported by employers. Illiterate. Not cult initiate, but participant in Candomblé.
- S.2 Woman, approximately 45-55. Black. Mother (size of family not known). Married. No outside employment, husband's occupation not known. Relatively prosperous economic situation. Literate. Initiate. Mãe de santo with flourishing terreiro, one of oldest established and best-known in Salvador. Orixá = Yansan.
- S.3 Woman, 67. Dark mulata. Size of family not known. Separated. No details of employment known. Low economic status. Illiterate. Initiate. Mãe pequena in (S.2)'s terreiro. Orixá unknown.
- S.4 Man, 56. Light mulato. Size of family unknown. Married. No outside employment. Low economic status. Literate. Initiate. Pai de santo with own terreiro in poor suburb of city. Orixá = Oxossi.
- S.5 Woman, 52. Light mulata. Unmarried. Teacher in primary school. High economic status. Not cult initiate but participant in spirit sessions.
- S.6 Woman, 75. Dark mulata. Unmarried. Stallholder (herb seller) in Mercado Modelo. Low economic status. Literate. Not initiate, but participant in Candomblé. Orixá = Oxun.
- S.7 Boy, 16. Dark mulato. Unmarried. Stallholder (herb seller) in Mercado Santa Bárbara. Medium-low economic status. Literate. Not initiate, but participant in Candomblé. Orixá unknown.
- S.8 Man, 26. Light mulato. Father of one. Separated. Stallholder in Mercado Santa Bárbara. Low economic status. Literate. Initiate. Ogã. Orixá = Omolú.
- S.9 Man, 35. Black. Father of large family. Married. Street herb seller. Low economic status. Illiterate. Not cult initiate, but participant in Candomblé. Orixá = Oxalá.

- S.10 Woman, 31. Dark mulata. Mother of two. Widow. Stallholder in Mercado Santa Bárbara. Low economic status. Literate. Initiate. Filha de santo. Orixá = Yemanjá.
- P.1 Man, 45. Light mulato²⁸. Family size unknown. Married. Chief of Pataxó tribe living on reservation near Porto Seguro in south of State of Bahia. Economic status within reservation unknown. Illiterate. No connection with Candomblé.
- R.1 Woman, 60 approximately. Black. Unwilling to disclose family details. Separated. No outside employment. High economic status. Literate. Initiate. Mãe de santo presiding over extremely flourishing terreiro on outskirts of Rio de Janeiro. Orixá = Exú.
- G.1 Woman, 38. White. Mother of five. Married. No employment, husband fisherman. Low economic status. Literate.
- G.2 Man, 55. White. Father of large family. Married. Agricultural worker. Medium economic status. Literate.

28 Again, the term mulato here can only indicate colour and not ethnic origin as this informant was of pure Indian extraction.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS BASES UNDERLYING CURANDEIRISMO

A.

(i) Indian

There are various religious elements underlying curandeirismo as it is practised today in the Recôncavo of Bahia and these should be examined initially in their historical perspective. First, there is the Indian, who in the early years of the Empire played an important rôle in setting the cultivation of sugar in motion and establishing Brazil as one of the main sources of sugar in the world. The Portuguese had soon discovered after their arrival that the type of soil along the Northeast coast, in particular the type called massapé in the area around the bay of Salvador, was highly suited for the cultivation of sugar, and that fortunes were to be made on the European sugar markets. The first settlements were in Pernambuco around the town of Recife and what is known as the Recôncavo of Bahia, namely the strip of land that surrounds the Bay of All the Saints. There were many Indians of Tupi stock in this area at the time and the Portuguese found little difficulty in rounding them up and forming them into gangs. The first plantations were cut into the jungle with Indian labour¹ but as sugar markets increased and more and more labour was required of the Indian, it became apparent that as far as extreme physical exertion was concerned, he was inadequate and

¹ Ott 1955:I, 18ff., 31.

unreliable. He was not naturally inclined towards prolonged physical effort of this nature because he was a nomad, used to surviving by means of the bow and arrow, collecting all the fruits that grew wild in the jungle and cultivating only the minimum quantity of manioc and maize that was essential for the survival of the tribe. The notion of monoculture was totally foreign to him, and his metabolism deteriorated as a result of the new pattern of life imposed upon him by the Portuguese. His traditional diet was no longer sufficiently sustaining during the long periods of physical labour to which he was subjected, and whole tribes became ill and died because of this and because of the introduction of European diseases to which the Indian had no immunity. It was clear that a different form of labour had to be imported from elsewhere.

The religion practised by the Indians at the time of colonisation is little different to that found today among tribes of related stocks, who still preserve their tribal units. Basically animistic in character, and including worship of the sun and moon, the religious beliefs and the ritual practices of the tribe centred around the figure of the pagé who fulfilled the dual function of priest and medicine man, functions inseparable in many cults throughout the world. Belief was founded on myth and the Tupi-Guarani traced their origins back to a Creation myth, which included the Flood myth found

amongst so many other peoples². They believed in a Paradise or Promised Land far to the East, the object of numerous quests and migrations under the messianic leadership of certain pagés³. A number of these traits clearly coincided with Christian belief despite the greater sophistication of the latter, and were therefore easily assimilated in the process of conversion. Other common beliefs and practices allied indigenous religions to those of the Africans who arrived later and the same process of absorption and assimilation took place.

The Jesuits, according to Freyre:

sought to destroy, or at least to castrate, every virile expression of religion or artistic culture that was not in agreement with Catholic morality and European conventions⁴.

Moreover, they settled the Indians into communities thus disrupting their established nomadic way of life and many of the religious traditions and practices that were an integral part of it, and usurped the authority of the pagé thus disintegrating the religious life of the community at its roots. In catechising the children, the Jesuits preserved certain songs and dances, but transformed former objects of fear, representations of spirits and demons, into comic figures, thus weakening the hold of totemism on successive generations⁵ and using the indoctrinated children as a powerful tool in the conversion of their elders.

2 For a fuller discussion of Tupi religions see Métraux I and II, 1928; Freyre 1946:81ff.; Radin 1942:75ff.

3 Ribeiro 1970:55-69; Wilson 1975:206-216.

4 Freyre 1946:107.

5 Freyre 1946:138.

Those Indians that remained in the coastal area, therefore, and who did not disappear inland away from the colonisers and the Jesuits who accompanied them, were soon converted, or at least subjected, to Christianity in a way which permitted few of their original beliefs and practices to survive. Their positive contribution to the amalgam of beliefs underlying religious practices in the Northeast today was small in comparison with African and European elements, and the apparently Indian features which are found today in Candomblé de caboclo such as the inclusion of Indian saints in worship and the placating of their spirits, are later introductions on the part of Candomblé de caboclo adherents. These elements will be discussed more fully in section C. (iii) of this chapter.

(ii) African

Metropolitan Portuguese slave-traders were already familiar with certain African peoples, especially the Yoruba, whom they had been taking as slaves since 1452⁶. They knew them to be good workers and it was thus that the importation of slaves into Brazil began.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it is difficult to establish exactly from what parts of Africa slaves came, as the geographical terminology of Portuguese sailors was vague, and slaves in Brazil could often only give the name of their place of embarkation and the

⁶ Ramos 1946:281.

Ott (1955:I, 54) estimates that there were 10,000 African slaves in Lisbon during the sixteenth century.

name of the district where they had lived and not the name of the specific tribe to which they belonged⁷. Slaves were frequently described as being from Guiné, Costa da Mina or Angola, or even simply as prêto da Guiné (black man from Guinea), negro da Costa (negro from the Coast) or peça da India (specimen from India)⁸. Nagô, another term used, was the name given by the French to those people who spoke Yoruba and its related dialects⁹. It subsequently became a generic term for the language which evolved as a result of the mingling of the different Yoruba and other tribes through forced cohabitation on the sugar plantations in Brazil. It became a common language among different African peoples who used it as an instrument of communication. As their religions fused and syncretised, establishing a tradition of African ritual, so did their languages, and as their acculturation with Portuguese elements, in particular the Portuguese language, proceeded, Nagô became a secondary means of communication and began to be spoken only as a ritual language in religious observances¹⁰.

Guiné, to Portuguese sailors, comprised a region

7 Ott 1955:1, 58.

8 Ramos 1946:275.

9 Ramos 1946:282; Pierson 1967:71-72.

10 Nagô as a 'general language' must not be confused with the earlier lingua geral imposed by the Jesuits to facilitate communication between Indians who spoke different Tupi dialects and the first Portuguese colonisers. See Freyre 1946:39, 42, 107.

covering almost the whole of the West coast of Africa, from Cameroon to Angola (Ott 1955:I, 58), whereas now it is taken to designate the small area of ex-Portuguese possessions in that area. There is even evidence that slaves came from as far away as Mozambique¹¹. Ott has drawn attention to another source of confusion with regard to the true ethnic origins of certain African slaves. It appears that Brazilian slave buyers would stipulate that certain batches of slaves originate from a particular tribe or country. The slave traders, not wanting to lose the business, would then alter the nationalities of the slaves they were currently transporting in order to please the Brazilian buyers¹².

The traffic was controlled from Portugal, and in the early sixteenth century each senhor de engenho (sugar plantation owner) was allowed to import one hundred and twenty slaves per engenho from Guiné and São Thomé¹³. Bahia was, at this time, the capital of Brazil, and also an important centre of trade, not only now for Brazil-wood, but for sugar from the multiplying engenhos of the Recôncavo. During the seventeenth century, although statistics are unreliable, the negro population increased considerably as the extensive tables given by Pierson demonstrate (1967:129-133). In 1763, the government moved to Rio de Janeiro but Bahia continued to be an important

11 Verger 1957:16; Ramos 1946:268.

12 Ott 1955:I, 59.

13 Ramos 1946:267-268.

centre of trade and of slave traffic. The traffic with Africa was not merely one way, for considerable exports were made from Brazil back to Africa. Tobacco was being shipped there as early as 1710 and for over a century Portuguese colonies on the West coast of Africa absorbed some thirty-five per cent of Bahia's production. Sugar, manioc meal, aguardente (brandy i.e. sugar cane brandy) and cowries were also exported to such an extent that there are reports of French travellers referring to Bahia as 'New Guinea', while the African natives of Guinea referred to the outer world as Bahia¹⁴.

The trade exchange proved so profitable that in 1795 the King of Dahomey sent two ambassadors to the Portuguese authorities in Bahia to propose a commercial treaty assuring the exclusive provision of slaves to the port of Ouidah. In the end the proposal was rejected on the grounds that it was not prudent to import too many slaves of the same nation to one area¹⁵.

Of the Sudanese groups, the Gôge (from the Porto Novo area of Dahomey) were brought over in large numbers in the seventeenth century, when the Dahomean peoples were enjoying supremacy over the other peoples of the slave coast, but numbers dwindled later. The Yoruba, on the other hand, despite their long contact with the Portuguese and their early introduction into Brazil as slaves, were only brought to Brazil in large numbers in the eighteenth

¹⁴ Pierson 1967:33-34.

¹⁵ Verger 1957:17-18.

and nineteenth centuries, when they were suppressed by the Dahomeans, and for this reason their influence has tended to predominate over that of other peoples, especially in Bahia.

Ott, basing his research on information in the public archives of Bahia, the Ordens Régias and over one hundred and thirty manuscripts containing contracts of sale of slaves in the municipal archives, as well as ecclesiastical registers, concludes that in the eighteenth century the majority of slaves in the capital were of Sudanese origin, in which he includes the group known as Nagô, while in the sertão at the same period, the majority were of Bantu origin, a good half being from Angola. This preponderance of Sudanese in the capital prevailed into the early nineteenth century according to sale contracts, while Recôncavo parish registers of the nineteenth century record almost equal proportions of Bantu and Sudanese, although there seems to have been a preponderance of Sudanese in certain larger centres of population like Nazaré¹⁶. The Hausa, who were the principal Muslim group, were imported on a lesser scale, but because of their more advanced cultural level, they played an important part in the development of regional culture.

More and more slaves were required continually for the Recôncavo sugar plantations and when, in 1815,

¹⁶ Ott 1955:I, 60ff.

Portugal adhered to the Vienna Convention abolishing slave-trading north of the Equator, Bahia continued and even augmented, the traffic with Ouidah and Lagos, paying only lip-service to the Convention¹⁷.

The form that slavery took in Brazil bears marked differences to that in North America and other areas of the New World. This has been studied and commented on at length by Gilberto Freyre in Casa Grande e Senzala (1933) and Sobrados e Mucambos (1936) and his conclusions are borne out by the reports of many early travellers. Burton commented, 'nowhere, even in oriental countries, has the "bitter draught" so little of gall in it'¹⁸. Miscegenation was widespread, and a network of intimate personal relationships distinguished slavery in Brazil from slavery in North America¹⁹.

Another important feature was that although it was considered unwise to form large groups of slaves emanating from the same tribe, distinguishable tribal units on the plantations were not deliberately split up, and this enabled the African to maintain his own beliefs, customs and racial integrity and to transmit his culture to his children, which was not the case in English-administered territories²⁰. Smaller ethnic groups tended to be absorbed by larger ones, with the

17 Verger 1957:18.

18 Burton 1869:I, 270.

19 Pierson 1967:335, 346.

20 Pierson 1967:73; Koster 1816:I, 229.

exception of the influential Haussa group, which remained important in Bahia, and, together with the Nagôs, was the prime mover in the early nineteenth century negro insurrections. The main cause of these insurrections, according to Ramos, was religious, having its foundations in the Mahomettan urge to 'guerra santa' (holy war)²¹. Muslim influence was present not only among the Haussa, but almost all the Sudanese negroes apart from those in the Guiné area.

(iii) European

Southey remarked that in the seventeenth century a traveller in Bahia 'might have supposed himself in Negroland'²², so it is curious how the influence of Europe should have proved to be such a dominant one.

Large numbers of Portuguese immigrants belonged to the artisan class or came from small fishing communities and Ott shows through researches in the public archives of Salvador²³ that the majority of these immigrants came originally from the northern province of Entre Douro e Minho, immigration from the south being much less considerable. The main attraction held by emigration was the hope of a better life and quickly accumulated wealth set against the over-exploited and fairly densely-populated poor agricultural area in which they lived in Portugal. Emigration from this province became so great

21 Ramos 1946:317. See also Etienne 1909.

22 Southey 1810:II, 674.

23 Ott 1955:I, 46ff.

that at one point in the eighteenth century the Portuguese government issued orders to turn back ships of immigrants on arrival in Bahia. However, as Ott points out, the ships docked with only children and old people on board, the younger people, undoubtedly forewarned, having already disembarked on beaches above the entrance to the bay²⁴.

Portuguese Catholicism was for centuries deeply imbued with countless pagan survivals which had become incorporated into the Christian year and practice. This trend was, and is still, particularly strong in the north of Portugal and in the bordering Spanish province of Galicia. Countless researchers have testified to the modern survival of semi-pagan practices in these areas²⁵. The early Portuguese emigrants left a country in the grip of the Inquisition and in the midst of a series of witch trials all over Europe and a general atmosphere of suspicion with regard to superstition and superstitious practices, so integral a part of the average peasant's life. These traditions were imported into Brazil along with the more orthodox forms of Catholicism of which the Jesuit Order was the principal representative.

²⁴ Ott 1955:I, 50-51.

²⁵ See particularly Freyre 1946:254ff.; Castillo de Lucas 1951, 1958, 1963; Lima Carneiro & Pires de Lima 1943; Dias 1944; Vasconcellos 1882, 1892, 1906, 1925, 1958, 1960; Bouza Brey 1949; Lis Quibén 1945, 1949; Rodriguez López 1895; Barriola 1952.

However, beliefs in certain semi-pagan practices and the propagation of rituals associated with these practices but long since fused with Catholicism were not solely restricted to the artisan classes but permeated the higher levels of society as well, so that the new aristocracy, the senhores de engenho (sugar plantation owners) were also affected by them. It was inevitable that European folk practices should be adopted, especially in the field of medicine, in a society that was very strictly divided between white masters and black slaves. The phenomenon of the power of 'white man's magic' is one that is very familiar and must have wielded great influence among the slaves of the colony.

Moreover, immigration from Portugal and from other European countries, has been constant right up to the present day, and this has meant that European practices in Brazil have been undergoing a constant process of renewal. After 1930 restrictions were put on the naturalisation of foreigners and a quota system introduced for all immigrants except the Portuguese:

In the 150 years up to 1969 Portugal contributed 1.8 million people to Brazil's population, against 1.6 million from Italy, 0.7 million from Spain, 0.3 million from Japan and 0.2 million from Germany. (Henshall & Momsen 1974:232, 234)

1974 figures on Portuguese immigration, however, show a drop in numbers, although this may change as Brazil's recent economic boom develops further:

In 1972, for the first time in over half a century, the Portuguese were not the largest immigrant group entering Brazil. The most numerous were the Koreans (1,895), followed by the Portuguese (807), with Americans third (675). (Henshall & Momsen 1974:234).

B.

The influence of Spiritism²⁶

Another element that has been introduced into the religious structure of Brazil comparatively recently is Spiritism. The works of Léon Hippolyte Dénisart Rivail (1804-1869), published under the pseudonym Allan Kardec which was given to him by his spirit guide, rapidly gained popularity in Brazil²⁷.

The long-established tradition in Brazil of Afro-European thaumaturgy was the principal factor in contributing towards the acceptance of Spiritism in the 1870's and in giving it the firm foothold which it enjoys today. It appeals to all social groups but appears to merge more easily with African traditions among the lower social strata, while the higher echelons of society prefer to remain completely independent and practise the doctrines of Spiritism as laid down by Rivail and other writers without the presence of any outside influences²⁸.

One of its principal doctrines is to practise charity and to cure illness which is believed to be caused by the actions of disembodied spirits. This is done through

26 The terms Spiritism and Spiritualism tend to be used arbitrarily by writers in English and there is no clear-cut distinction between them (OED). I have chosen to use the term Spiritism since it is closest to Rivail's use of the French term Spiritisme and the Brazilian Espiritismo.

27 See particularly Rivail 1857 and 1864.

28 For general studies on Spiritism with particular reference to Brazil see Wilson 1975:117-120; McGregor 1966; St. Clair 1971.

the assistance of irmãos de luz (spirits of light i.e. those that are free from all evil) working through mediums who transmit beneficial fluídos (fluids) to the bodies of the faithful. Such fluídos are also known as correntes (currents) which flow, like an electric current, from one person to another²⁹.

A federation of Spiritism was formed in 1884 since when it has ramified into many different associations which have established countless hospitals, clinics and assembly halls throughout the country, particularly in the south in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. According to Wilson (1975:119):

...in the late 1950's there were some 7,000 spiritualist centres (of all kinds) in Rio de Janeiro alone, and one Catholic estimate for the archdiocese of Curitiba (capital of Paraná state) suggested that 40 per cent of the population was sympathetic to spiritualism.

He goes on to quote Ferreria de Camargo:

They claimed to have provided hospital treatment for some 6,992 persons (compared with the Roman Catholic figure of 38,781, and the Protestant figure of 1,038), and they had provided assistance of some sort for 370,000 (compared to 503,000 persons assisted by the Catholics and 34,000 by the Protestants).

Such was the popularity of the Spiritism movement that in 1957 the Brazilian Post Office issued a postage stamp to mark the hundredth anniversary of Rivail's Le livre des esprits contenant les principes de la doctrine spirite³⁰.

²⁹ See also below, 231 note 41.

³⁰ St. Clair (1971) gives an illustration opposite 161.

The federation has continued to grow, and while no recent accurate figures are available, it is clear that it enjoys one of the largest followings of the major religious movements currently disseminated throughout Brazil.

C.

(i) The development of African religions in Brazil

The colonists soon realised the importance to the African of his religion. Apart from providing a means of worship, it was looked upon by the Africans as a primary source of entertainment and this quality it has retained in Brazil to this day. It was important, therefore, that the colonist should allow the practice of the cults to continue in order to keep a high level of contentment among his work force. He managed to achieve this while keeping strictly to the requirements laid down by the Portuguese Court and the Catholic Church, and merely insisted that the African should undergo baptism into the Catholic Church. Nothing more was required of him apart from a short morning service on some plantations before the day's work began³¹. The Catholic Church's attitude was also one of mild tolerance. In fact, the development of African cults was openly encouraged provided that the faithful switched allegiance from pagan deities to their Catholic counterparts³². All that this implied, however, was a change of name, because the ceremonies themselves remained unchanged. More recently, however, this tolerance on the part of the authorities changed to open opposition. Various reports appeared in newspapers

31 See Freyre 1946:370-371 where it is stated how the African readily embraced baptism so as to be socially equal to his fellow slaves. The unbaptised (pagan) slave was considered inferior.

32 Pierson 1967:94ff.; Freyre 1946:472.

attacking African cults³³ and the police made frequent raids while ceremonies were taking place and confiscated all objects sacred to the cult. It was confidently predicted that within a short while all the African religions in Brazil would disappear³⁴. As the Brazilian economy expanded, however, especially during the last decade since the Revolution of 1964, it became clear to the authorities that such religions could be of tremendous use in the bid for development. First, they constituted an ideal tourist attraction (the main cult houses feature prominently on all the tourist propaganda issued by the State of Bahia, for example). But these religions could also be employed in the field of diplomacy because they count Brazilians of African royal blood in their priestly hierarchies³⁵. It is a fairly common occurrence now for a mãe or pai de santo to be sent by the Federal Government to Africa on what amounts to a royal visit. Such expeditions are given wide publicity in both countries and help to a very great extent to cement relations between the two.

The religion that the Africans brought with them is known in Bahia as Candomblé³⁶, in Recife as Xangô³⁷,

33 See especially A Tarde (Bahia) December 9, 1935, May 8, 1936, June 10, 1937.

34 Gallet 1934:57.

35 Olga de Alakêto was referred to in the Bahia press during her official visit to Nigeria in 1974 as Princesa Dona Olga de Alakêto.

36 For general studies on Candomblé see especially Bastide 1961; Verger 1957; Carneiro 1961; Rodrigues 1935.

37 See Ribeiro 1952. Xangô is also the name given to the cult in Trinidad: see Simpson 1962.

in Porto Alegre as Pará³⁸, and in Rio de Janeiro as Macumba and Umbanda³⁹. The term Macumba is used to designate all the different African religions that came together in Rio de Janeiro, fused with all the other religious currents and took on an identity of their own in which characteristics borrowed from the Indian, the African and the European can be seen simultaneously. Outside Rio de Janeiro the term Macumba is used in a slightly derogatory manner. Members of traditional cult houses in Bahia refer to members of fringe cult houses as people who 'fazem Macumba' (literally 'do Macumba') (S.2) thereby implying not so much that the fringe cult houses are inferior but that they devote their attentions to evil ends. The term macumbeiro (one who practises Macumba) is extremely derogatory in Bahia and is used as a term of abuse.

38 The precise origin and meaning of Pará is unclear. It may derive from Elebara, the god of mischief in the south of Brazil. See Herskovits 1943:503 note 8.

39 For general studies on Macumba and Umbanda see especially McGregor 1966; St. Clair 1971.

(ii) Candomblé

The official religion of Brazil, Roman Catholicism, and Candomblé exist side by side in Bahia, and there is, on an official level at least, very little communication between the two⁴⁰. Candomblé followers may be practising Catholics and may be seen at church on Sundays, but members of the priestly hierarchy confine their religious observances strictly within the walls of their cult house (I.2 and passim). Similarly, Catholic priests appear to have made few, if any, friends among the followers of Candomblé. The two religions very rarely overlap on an official level, but on an unofficial level there have been marked movements towards syncretism, principally because on the surface there are striking similarities between the two. All the major Catholic saints find their counterparts in the Yoruba pantheon of deities (known as orixás) so too do God the Father and God the Son, though the third person of the Trinity is strangely lacking. The following table contains the names of the most common orixás with their Catholic counterparts.

⁴⁰ The problem of relationships between Catholicism and other religions in Brazil is a complex one and so these comments are restricted to the Recôncavo of Bahia.

Table a

ORIXÁ	DOMAIN	CATHOLIC
Olorun	Father	God the Father
Oxalá	Son	Jesus Christ
Yemanjá	Salt water, Fertility	Virgin Mary
Oxun	Fresh water, Fertility	Virgin Mary
Naná	Old Matriarch	St. Anne
Omolú (also known as Obaluayé, Abaluayé)	Disease, particularly smallpox	SS. Lazarus, Roche
Ogun	War	St. Anthony
Oxossi	Hunt	St. George
Yansan	Thunderbolt	St. Barbara
Xangô	Thunder	St. Jerome
Exú	Mischief	Devil

Some of the connections between orixá and Catholic saint are obvious: Naná, the old matriarch, should clearly be linked with St. Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin

Mary; Omolú, the god of smallpox, is linked with SS. Lazarus and Roche; Oxossi, the god of the hunt, with St. George, who killed a dragon, and so on. Others are less obvious, but there is always some overlap between the myth surrounding the African deity and the hagiographical background of the Catholic saint that justifies their being connected. Ogun, for example, is the god of war and he carries a sword with which he can 'abrir caminhos', literally 'open the ways', and, by extension, 'resolve difficulties', so he has become linked with St. Anthony, patron of lost property. The African deity is honoured on the feast day ascribed to his Catholic counterpart, and individual cult houses are dedicated to a particular deity in the same way as churches have their individual patrons. But here the syncretism ends. Ritual inside the traditional Candomblé cult houses contains no borrowings whatsoever from Catholic ritual and has remained purely African, the language of the ceremonies and incantations being the common language (Nagô) of the original Yoruba-speaking tribes in Africa⁴¹, and the ritual itself is identical to that currently practised in Africa.

The word Candomblé is Yoruba in origin and its true

⁴¹ The Nagô spoken in traditional cult houses in Brazil has remained very conservative, mainly because it tends to be spoken only during specific rituals, and it contains many archaisms when compared with the Yoruba currently spoken in Nigeria. Brazilian Candomblé priests from traditional cult houses are extremely proud of being able to converse freely in the Yoruba language when in Africa. It is stressed that this knowledge of Yoruba is restricted to traditional houses.

meaning is obscure⁴². Candomblé priests translate it into Portuguese as brincadeira, meaning literally a 'game', but this links it semantically with brincar, 'to jump'⁴³. It refers particularly to the dancing that takes place on important feasts during the course of which the orixás take possession of their followers, this occurrence being known as montar a cavalo (riding a horse). The word orixá has been loosely translated into Portuguese as santo (saint) and guía (guide). But it is also more commonly referred to as dono da cabeça (owner of the head), this being a direct translation of the Yoruba (ori = head, xá = owner). The orixá, therefore, actually owns the head of the person he chooses to follow him, according to Yoruba belief. The conditions of choice are governed by a variety of factors: Omolú, the smallpox god, is automatically considered the owner of the head of one who has had that or any other skin disease. But usually a person's physical and psychological characteristics go towards determining which of the orixás he belongs to. A person with a look that reflects courage, stubbornness or determination will often belong to Ogun, god of war, or Yansan, goddess of the thunderbolt who is also linked to war, and she carries a sword. She is the only orixá who, according to myth, is able to repel the spirits of the dead, known as egun⁴⁴. Intelligence is associated with Oxossi, the hunter, always alert and lively;

⁴² See Carneiro 1961:17-18; Bastide 1961:17.

⁴³ For a discussion of the semantic links between jumping, play and religious ritual in other languages see Huizinga 1971:33-51.

⁴⁴ Verger 1957:403.

beauty, coupled with a gentle nature, links one to as águas (the waters) i.e. the goddesses of water, Yemanjá and Oxun. It is not always the case that a man should belong automatically to a male orixá or vice versa, nor can it be proved that homosexuals show a tendency to belong to orixás of the opposite sex. The distinctions between characters to further than this, and it is usually the case that a person will reflect the characteristics of more than one orixá. Yemanjá and Oxun are linked since they both emanate from the waters and represent similar things, but a person who belongs primarily to Oxun will also show signs of being close to Oxossi, it being firmly established in the myths and legends that the two orixás were in love with each other⁴⁵. In the same way, one who belongs to Oxun is not likely to be inclined at the same time towards Obá⁴⁶, because they were both, in the myths, wives of Xangô, and the one was constantly fighting with the other⁴⁷. It used to be the practice (although this is now a fairly rare occurrence and would be restricted only to the traditional cult houses) for a man to consult the priest at the head of his seita (sect) as to the advisability or otherwise of his marrying a particular girl, it being very important for reasons already given that he should not marry one whose orixá would be incompatible with his own (S.4, C.1, C.5). It is clear that the determination of a person's orixá

⁴⁵ Verger 1957:209.

⁴⁶ A minor orixá with little devotional following in Brazil nowadays.

⁴⁷ Bastide 1961:249-250.

is very closely governed by his character and that the main qualification of a mãe or pai de santo should be good and accurate judgement of character. One mãe de santo (C.6) admitted that she was not normally over-fond of people who belong to Yansan, but was quick to add that this was based on her own assumption that people belonging to Yansan tend to have certain characteristics that she found particularly displeasing. It was not based on any lack of respect for the orixá concerned. Fundamental to Candomblé, therefore, is the notion that a person's orixá is determined by character - an orixá will only try to own the head of one who is compatible with himself or herself. It follows that in the process of curing, the intercession of a particular orixá will be requested for assistance if the need arises. Yemanjá and Oxun will come to the aid of a man suffering from unrequited love, for example, while Yansan, once heard described as a 'mulher macha' (virile woman) (I.2), the orixá who in the myths overcame the spirits of the dead, will succour those who are seriously ill.

In addition to this, each orixá has control over certain parts of the body, and by extension, an orixá may be responsible for the malfunctioning of that part under his control, while remaining the chief means by which the cure may be effected⁴⁸. The part of the body to which

48 Cf. Wallis Budge (1928:28) who says of the Egyptians: 'Every member of the body of a living man was protected by a god, and the Book of the Dead (Chapter XLII) shows us that the members of a dead man were believed to be protected in the same way'.
Cf. the Catholic idea of patron saints.

the orixá is linked is determined to a certain measure by myth, but particularly by logical association. Hence Exú, the mischief maker and guardian of all entrances and thoroughfares, looks after all the orifices of the body. Many seitas shun any association with him for the purpose of curing, though he is most important and powerful and fundamental to the smooth running of every ceremony.

This particular aspect can be seen most clearly by reference to the table below. The colour associated with each of the main orixás is included:

Table b

ORIXÁ	AREA OF CONTROL	COLOUR
Oxalá	Head	White
Yemanjá	Childbirth Female sexual organs Stomach	Pink/White/ Light Blue
Oxun	Childbirth Female sexual organs Stomach	Yellow
Xangô	Fever	Red and White
Naná	Rheumatic pains Skin diseases - linked with Omolú because of her great age	White/Blue
Omolú	Skin diseases of all kinds, particularly smallpox, elephant- iasis	Red and Black
Ogun	Orifices of the body Procreation	Dark Blue
Oxossi	Sterility Mental derangement	Green
Yansan	Fever	Red
Exú	Orifices of the body	Red and Black

Periods of initiation into the religion vary considerably from one cult house to another. Traditionally the candidate was expected to remain apart from other members of the cult house and from all family and friends for periods often exceeding one year. One of the pais de santo in Bahia recalled having spent 15 months in isolation during his period of initiation but nowadays three or four weeks is common (S.4). Traditional houses frown upon such short periods and declare that it is impossible to teach the initiate all that is necessary in that time. Indeed, this constitutes the main reason for the decline of the spoken African language in fringe cult houses, where it is considered sufficient to let the initiate proceed with just a smattering picked up by learning the incantations dedicated to the orixá in question. Traditional houses are particularly keen on the retention of the African language, and in one case in Cachoeira, the pertinent African language was spoken whenever children were present so as to give them as early a grounding as possible in it (C.1).

Initiation takes place particularly in the ile orixá, known in the vernacular as the camarinha (small room). The candidate will spend whatever period of time the high priest deems necessary in this room, in a state of semi-trance, known as eré⁴⁹. Eré marks the intermediary stage between the normal and the ecstatic state, i.e. it is a stage somewhere between total possession by the orixá and a state of normality. Mediums in eré trances

⁴⁹ For the eré see Bastide 1961:253ff.; Simpson 1962:1211-1212; Herskovits 1948:9.

reveal a state of calm, childish ecstasy and act just like children⁵⁰. The twin orixás, known as Ibeji, particularly favour the eré trance state and it is extremely common to see small altars erected in honour of the Ibeji in the bedrooms of children from all social strata⁵¹.

During the period of initiation the candidate learns things of fundamental importance with regard to his future relationship with his orixá. Apart from the ritual language he learns the incantations and drum rhythms associated with his orixá and a whole series of sung prayers known as ingolosi which are sung at specific times during the day or on specific ritual occasions by those who actually live in the cult house. The candidate also learns a certain amount about the ritual use of herbs. Herbs constitute a most important aspect of the Candomblé religion and the candidate for initiation must learn which specific herbs belong to his orixá - but here his or her instruction may end because the secrets of the herbs are jealously guarded by the priestly hierarchy. The ultimate source of information is the mãe or pai de santo who, ideally, pass down knowledge to their successors, a process, however, that can be interrupted by an untimely death in which case the secret is lost for ever.

Herbs enter into all the main rituals. The candidate for initiation takes regular banhos (baths) called abó or amasi, and comes to relate the smell of these baths so

50 See photograph No. 1.

51 The Ibeji have become syncretised with the Catholic 'twins', Cosme and Damian. They are patrons of all children.

automatically to the trance state that after initiation the smell of an abó or amasi mixture is sufficient to bring on a state of trance⁵². The candidate sleeps on a mat in the ile orixá underneath which are specific combinations of certain herbs relevant to the orixá in question. After initiation members are eligible to undergo other rituals, such as obi and bori⁵³, in both of which herbs play an important part. Once a year the drums are 'fed' with herbs by means of having a herbal solution together with the blood of a sacrificial animal poured over them.

Due homage and respect are paid to dead members of Yoruba cult houses (known as the egun) and an exclusive cult of the dead is practised on the island of Itaparica situated west of Salvador in the bay⁵⁴.

52 This is particularly the case with abó which is a mixture kept for a long time and hence acquires a most distinctive rotten smell. See below, 131ff.

53 For obi see Querino 1955:60-63; Rodrigues 1935:81. For bori see Carneiro 1961:106; Verger 1957:80-95.

54 The souls of the dead are believed to travel west, hence the early slaves found Itaparica to be an ideal location for the egun cult. This cult is still largely unknown, partly because of its isolation (the cult house is on a remote hilltop) and partly because the male priests that officiate appear to be mainly members of the same family and are extremely wary of allowing outsiders to attend rituals.

(iii) Candomblé de caboclo

Comments so far on Candomblé have in the main been restricted to the traditional cult houses in Bahia of which there are very few left⁵⁵. There is, on the other hand, a considerable number of houses in Bahia which have followed the example of the south of Brazil and accepted the influence of other religious movements. The African religions have been remodelled in such a way that they contain borrowings from Europe, to a lesser extent from the indigenous people of Brazil (Indians of Tupi stock), and from the relatively modern movement known as Spiritism.

The Brazilian Indian, although off the plantations, had left his mark firmly imprinted on Brazilian society, and the worship of Tupi spirits through a ritualistic framework based on Candomblé developed slowly at first and then with great impetus in line with the nationalistic drives of the 1920's and 1930's when Brazil began to look in earnest to its indigenous heritage for most forms of artistic inspiration⁵⁶. Spirits from the forest were seen more and more frequently in Candomblé cult houses, and now it is only the very few traditional houses that continue to ban the Indian spirits (known as caboclos) from mixing with their African counterparts. Caboclo spirits have been identified with various tribes of the Tupi stock⁵⁷ and their names are always in either Tupi or Portuguese,

55 Reference is made particularly to the following seitas: Opo Afonjá; Olga de Alakêto; Meninina de Gantois (Salvador); Albertino (Cachoeira); Egun (Amoreiras, Itaparica).

56 There was even a serious attempt at this time to establish Tupi Guarani as the language of the Brazilian intellectual.

57 Binon Cossard 1970:154-155.

e.g. Tupinambá, Maiongá, Jurema, Pedra Preta, Paraguaçu, Pedra Verde, Sete Flechas, Boiadeiro, Sultão das Matas, Janaina, Sete Estrêlas etc.

Candomblé de caboclo⁵⁸ enjoys its popularity for a number of reasons, the main one being that it is considerably easier for the faithful adequately to serve a caboclo spirit than an African orixá. The period of seclusion during initiation need be much shorter in that the caboclo incantations are nearly always in Portuguese and caboclo cult houses use Portuguese exclusively during rituals⁵⁹. Some of the incantations, however, do contain some smatterings of African languages resulting in the curious occurrence of a Brazilian Indian spirit being praised in a mixture of an African language and Portuguese. Periodically there occurs in the incantations reference to a mysterious land called Aruanda which has become the lost paradise both for Africans and Indians⁶⁰. Aruanda is in fact Luanda, the port on the coast of Angola, which passed into Afro-Brazilian folklore as a lost paradise in that it was the last place in Africa which many a slave had sight of as his ship started its journey across the Atlantic. It is typical of Candomblé de caboclo that caboclo spirits

58 For a brief description of Candomblé de caboclo, see Querino 1938:125-127 and Ramos 1940:159-164.

59 This is not the case in Rio de Janeiro where a lot of Tupi can be identified in the incantations and in the ritual language in general (R.1).

60 For further information concerning Aruanda, see Cascudo 1965:90-95.

should also be assumed to have a connection with Luanda.

The caboclo spirits are also considerably less exigent than the African orixás hence it is much easier for the faithful to fulfil their obligations⁶¹. The African orixás, for example, when they take possession of their followers, must be clothed in an elaborate costume which is provided by the filhas de santo at considerable expense, whereas the caboclo usually requires no more by way of a costume than a leather jacket and hat (Boiadeiro), or simply a feathered head-dress and a lighted cigar.

It is curious how the caboclos have syncretised only with African deities and not with their Catholic counterparts⁶². Whereas it is common to hear Janaina referred to as 'a mesma que Yemanjá' (the same as Yemanjá) it is extremely rare to hear Janaina related directly to the Catholic Virgin Mary. Candomblé de caboclo as an organised religion only emerged comparatively recently and has never been exposed to the Christianising influence which predominated on the early sugar plantations, hence it has tended to emulate its African rather than Christian precursors. The influence of Spiritism (as opposed to Catholicism), has also been very marked and much of caboclo terminology finds its origins in Spiritism.

All these elements, African Candomblé, the worship of Indian spirits, European popular beliefs and Spiritism

⁶¹ Binon Cossard 1970:150, 154.

⁶² Ramos 1940:161. See also 165-168 for a fairly comprehensive list of Catholic saints with their African/caboclo counterparts.

have come together under the generic title of Candomblé de caboclo, and it is certainly this type of Candomblé that predominates in Bahia today. Candomblé de caboclo is still mostly based on African and Tupi-inspired tradition although it is clear that Spiritism is gaining an ever-increasing hold. This may be due to the fact that Spiritism is a more intellectual movement that brings with it a prestige value and other refinements that the other religions are considered not to have. A number of informants mentioned that they felt considerably more at ease offering their services as mediums at a sessão espírita (spirit session, séance) than at a Candomblé ritual in that the mediums at a sessão sit at a table and do not indulge in the sometimes frenzied and ungainly dancing in which they might otherwise participate. The traditional seitas fulfil a relatively minor rôle and cater for the needs of a very small number of people in comparison with the enormous following enjoyed by the Candomblé de caboclo.

Candomblé de caboclo as described above does not necessarily have to be a very organised affair, nor does it have to take place strictly within the walls of a consecrated cult house. People living in a normal dwelling house can set themselves up as mães or pais de santo, do secular work during the day and attend to the needs of the local community in their spare time. It is not at all important for them to have the trimmings usually associated with traditional houses. The reason for this

is a purely financial one. People in poor suburbs of towns in remote areas do not have the wherewithal to establish themselves in houses which adequately fulfil all the conditions required by tradition. The result of this is that these fringe houses do not have to respect the ritual calendar. They can hold a Candomblé whenever they want to and so it is fairly common, for example, for a Candomblé to be held to celebrate someone's birthday (I.3, I.6). In this way the ritual fulfils its true function as a brincadeira, a game, played for the sake of enjoyment during leisure hours.

D.

The function of the priest

The main function of the pai or mãe de santo other than that of administrative head of a cult house, is to advise and to cure, and all pais and mães de santo interviewed used the terms curandeiro and curandeirismo (folk doctor, folk medicine) when describing their functions. This is the case both in traditional and caboclo houses and in the majority of instances the pai or mãe only deals personally with a member of the congregation when that member has a problem to solve.

The distinction between someone with a particular personal problem and someone who is ill and in need of a cure, is a very fine one. A pai or mãe de santo may attribute a personal tragedy (such as the loss of a child) and a serious illness (such as elephantiasis), to the machinations of the same evil spirit. Everyday problems and specific illnesses tend to be placed under the one generic term 'indisposition' and invariably the same remedies are applied with more or less emphasis to indispositions at both ends of the spectrum. This does not mean to say that any isolated accident is automatically attributed to an evil force, although some cult members would readily say that this was the case (I.1, I.3, I.8, C.7, C.15, S.1)⁶³. However, an accident is always attributed

⁶³ On one occasion I.1 attributed accidentally bumping her head to an influência ruim (bad influence) despite the fact that all the ill effects of the accident disappeared within 24 hours.

to an evil force in the event of the victim's health deteriorating considerably subsequent to the accident.

All forms of indisposition, therefore, fall into two distinct categories in that they can be due to purely natural causes, or to a mysterious force known as influência ruim (bad influence). This influência ruim can either be deliberately inflicted by one individual on another, in which case it is called the evil eye (mau de olho), or it can arrive literally on the ill wind in which case it is known as the ar or moléstia do ar. In this latter instance no malice between individuals is involved in that the ill wind brings with it certain misfortunes and it is just the unhappy chance of the individual concerned to be contaminated⁶⁴. In both instances, however, there is the notion that the indisposition concerned is caused by the undesirable presence inside the body of a force of evil, and it will be noticed that methods of curing such indispositions show a common tendency to expel the force of evil by physically driving it out of the body. Such a method of cure is common in folk medicine throughout the world⁶⁵ and it is for this reason that the curandeiro has traditionally been concerned more with the spirit world than the material. If illness is considered not in terms

⁶⁴ The differences and similarities between the mau de olho and moléstia do ar are somewhat more involved than this, however, and these are dealt with in greater detail below, see 223 and 242ff.

⁶⁵ See especially Lévy-Bruhl 1926; Ramos 1940:213; Rodrigues 1935:92-97; Blache 1963:30; Machado Filho 1964:41-42; Bastide 1950:7; Campos 1967:19-20; Magalhães 1966:8-9; Maynard Araújo 1961:55, 1958:64; MacLean 1974:139.

of bacteria or germs that can be destroyed by means of a chemical process but in terms of some form of evil force that is lurking inside the body and stopping it functioning in the normal way, then the cure will have to be undertaken on the same plane. Doctors of medicine in the past were not doctors at all in the modern sense of the word, but priests because the expulsion of spirits was a function which only a priest was equipped to perform. The term 'witch doctor' is used loosely nowadays but it does convey the notion of the medicine man being linked to the world of the spirits in order to be able to carry out his functions successfully. The curandeiro in Brazil fulfils similar functions in that he is almost always a priest, often, but not necessarily, at the head of a cult house, and his followers will consult him when they are ill and the nature of the illness is seen to be beyond the limitations of popular remedies. It is the priest who has it in his power successfully to grapple with evil forces and therefore, ultimately, to bring about a cure.

CHAPTER III

HERBS¹

A.

(i) General background

The importance of plant lore in the religions of the Northeast of Brazil has been stressed elsewhere² and informants constantly expressed the idea that herbs are important not only in the day-to-day relationship between man and the gods, but also in healing. Within the framework of Candomblé all herbs, plants and trees belong to specific gods and come under their control, in the same way as parts of the body. These enter into the composition of dishes prepared as offerings to them and are particularly important as part of curing rituals. Whatever the ritual, both in traditional and non-traditional cult houses, herbs play an extremely significant rôle. If a particular leaf is not available locally, the interested party may travel miles to find it. (C.5) recalled having travelled to Feira de Santana, a distance of approximately 80 km. in order to find a leaf he required for a specific purpose. People travelling into the interior, or to a neighbouring town will invariably be asked by curandeiros

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- 1 Herbs is here intended as a generic term to include leaves, roots, nuts, seeds, fruits etc.
 - 2 See especially Bastide 1961:156 where an informant is quoted as saying 'Todo o segredo do candomblé reside em suas ervas' (the whole secret of Candomblé lies in its herbs); Verger 1957:229-231.

to look out for some specific herbs and bring them back on their return.

Bastide suggests that the main reason why some orixás are now no longer worshipped in Brazil is that the herbs related to their cult cannot be found there³, and an informant in Cachoeira (C.5), while explaining the virtues of the acoco tree, had to admit that the secret as to which of the orixás it belonged to had died with a mãe de santo a few years previously. A result of this is that the acoco is now considered to belong to all the orixás together. He spoke of the tree in terms of great awe and respect and said that of all herbs and plants that enter into ritual, this tree was one of the most significant and powerful, and yet this extremely important detail had been lost for ever.

One of the extraordinary aspects of plant lore is that all plants without any exception have some power which, provided that the right conditions are adhered to, will fulfil a definite purpose. A ritual requiring the use of a specific herb that is not readily available can still be performed in cases of urgency by using some other similar herb. Many informants agreed that under these circumstances 'qualquer erva serve' (any herb will do)⁴ but the one specified by tradition remains the most effective⁵.

3. Bastide 1961:156.

4. Also noted by Binon Cossard 1970:173.

5. Such flexibility is not shown, however, in traditional seitas.

(ii) The terminology employed in the classification of herbs

On arrival in Brazil the African recognised many plants that were identical to ones that grew in Africa and those plants that were not indigenous to Brazil but of great importance in religious ceremonies were transplanted from Africa, the most important example being the dendê palm which now grows prolifically in the Northeast. A lot of information concerning plants indigenous to Brazil was acquired from the Tupi Indians with whom the early African slaves worked for a while on the plantations. Many indigenous plants have since become incorporated in the Candomblé de caboclo and they are often recognisable by their Tupi/Portuguese names, e.g.: nicurí de caboclo⁶, folha de urubú, imbé, etc. Some plants indigenous both to Africa and Northeast Brazil have lost their African name in favour of the Tupi, although this occurrence is restricted mainly to the interior and to areas further north of the State of Bahia, particularly Amazonas, where the Indian influence is more marked. An example of this is Petiveria alliacea L., known in Salvador and Itaparica as guiné, but in Cachoeira and further inland and northwards as tipi⁷.

The Portuguese and African drew on each others'

6 The post-fix de caboclo does not always imply that the plant belongs to a caboclo spirit. Cf. capim de caboclo which belongs to Yansan and Oxossi.

7 Also observed by Menezes 1949:183; Ramos 1940:194, who gives pipi as a variant; pipi is also given by Gomes 1809 1st ed. 1972:29 and Hoehne 1939:112-113.

knowledge of plants to a very great extent, mainly in the bid to use herbs to cure disease in remote areas of the interior around the capital where there were no doctors. As a result, the majority of herbs bear Portuguese names, the use of African names being restricted to the very traditional cult houses. Some of the plants indigenous to both the tropics and to Europe bear names that link them particularly to Europe despite the fact that they appear to have no function in European folk medicine, their use being restricted to Candomblé ritual. An example of this is Leonurus sibiricus L., known in Brazil as cordão de São Francisco (Friar's cord). Catholic-sounding names such as this one may find their origin in the activities of the early Jesuit missionaries. Certainly, in the case of Scoparia dulcis L., the popular names in Brazil and Peru are virtually identical in meaning, the Brazilian version being vassourinha (small broom) and the Peruvian escobilla del Peru (small broom of Peru)⁸.

(iii) Common cross-cultural factors associated with herb lore

Other herbs found in both Brazil and Europe have continued to be used according to past and present European tradition, while retaining their function in the context of African religious ritual. It is popularly believed in Brazil that anyone passing near a bush of alecrim (rosemary) should stop and savour its scent, and this custom is based on a considerably older Portuguese tradition as shown in

⁸ Pardal 1937:173.

the following refrain from Vila Nova de Gaia:

Quem pelo alecrim
passou
E não cheirou
Se mal estava
Pior ficou!

Whoever passed by the
rosemary
And did not smell it
If he was ill
Became worse!

It is still used on haystacks and in grain barns in Galicia as a means of protection (G.2).

Arruda (rue), a most popular and important herb in Brazil, was used in ancient Greece and Rome as an amulet to protect against bad business and contagious illnesses, and is still highly esteemed by the Arabs for having been so favoured by Mahomet¹⁰. Rojas' La Celestina bears witness to its historical popularity in Europe: La Celestina herself is described as 'mas conocida (es esta vieja) que la ruda' (Act IV). Its transition to the New World and subsequent popularity there is borne out by Debret's picture of arruda sellers drawn during his visit to Brazil in the early nineteenth century¹¹. The following refrain from Barroso (Portugal) shows its importance as an amulet for protecting against evil:

Dezoito mil
feiticeiros
Eu a êles não tenho
medo
Qu'eu tenho ua cruz
d'arruda

Eighteen thousand
sorcerers
I am not frightened
of them
I have a cross of rue

No tope do meu cabelo¹². On the crown of my head.

9 Quoted by Câmara Cascudo 1951:83.

10 Correa 1969:I,180; Gifford 1958:74-76, also stresses the historical importance of rue.

11 Debret n.d.:II, plate 11.

12 Andrade 1963:229.

(iv) Physical properties of herbs employed in curing

The external appearance and physical composition of certain leaves correspond to a large extent with the personality of the orixá to whom they belong. Leaves fall into two main categories: folhas bravas (bold leaves) and folhas finas (delicate leaves), and as a broad rule folhas bravas tend to belong to masculine orixás who are stubborn, warlike, or generally extrovert, while the folhas finas belong to as águas (the waters), i.e. Yemanjá, Oxun or Naná¹³. Yansan belongs to the former category in that she is the strong-minded, extrovert female orixá with many masculine characteristics¹⁴.

The principal leaves that belong to Ogun and Oxossi (gods of war and the hunt respectively) are espada de Ogun and espada de Oxossi. They are both very similar in shape and colour (green and green and yellow respectively) and vaguely resemble drawn swords, hence are both very commonly seen standing in vases in people's houses or growing in pots at the entrance to protect the house from any evil that might try to enter it. An espada de Ogun was seen in a taxi in Salvador to protect the driver from assault. A brothel in Cachoeira had both plants growing

13 There are important exceptions, however, which will be pointed out later. See below, 110-111.

14 An informant (I.6) once described Yansan as 'uma mulher macha' (a manly woman).

at the entrance and a leaf from each pinned in the shape of a cross on the wall of the hall¹⁵. Yansan's principal leaf is roughly the same shape, but smaller, and is reddish purple in colour¹⁶.

In contrast, however, certain delicate herbs, (folhas finas) wilt in the presence of evil. Vassourinha de Nossa Senhora, when used to rezar¹⁷ the evil eye, wilts completely during the ritual which normally lasts only a few minutes as the evil in the patient passes into it, and avenca and macaça bushes will wilt if a victim of the evil eye approaches them¹⁸. Another curious detail concerning avenca and macaça plants is that they must be looked after by only one person otherwise they will die.

15 See photograph No. 2.

16 Yansan carries a sword and her colour is red.

17 Rezar means literally 'to pray'. The curandeiro says a prayer or charm while lightly brushing leaves over the patient's body. See Chapter IX below.

18 Cf. Barroso 1923:295-296, who mentions how plants in the hot pepper family wilt and dry up completely if a victim of the evil eye looks at them.

B.

(i) The selection of herbs for ritual use

Opinions concerning the use of herbs vary radically from one seita to another, depending on the part of Africa from which they originated. Ultimately, the secret of the herbs in traditional seitas rests with the pai or mãe de santo concerned and he or she will ensure that the laws governing their use are strictly adhered to. One of the features about Candomblé de caboclo, however, is that while herbs remain of the utmost importance in all rituals, the laws governing their use are extremely flexible. For example, a Candomblé de caboclo priest might cultivate some herbs in the land adjoining his house, though traditional houses abhor this practice and insist that if a herb is to be effective it must be found growing wild in the jungle¹⁹. Often opinions concerning one particular herb or group of herbs vary so considerably that it is extremely difficult to come to any definite conclusion with regard to their use. One particularly salient example is the use of herbs belonging to Exú. Some caboclo priests use these herbs a lot since they feel that Exú has it in his power to deal with the most ferocious evil spirits. This is quite rare, however, and the majority of priests shun herbs that belong to Exú and take the view that if the patient is possessed

19 See also Bastide 1961:158, 1950:9. However Vogel 1970:51, quoting Bricknell, tells of North American Indians who cultivated herb gardens to guarantee a ready supply.

by Exú, herbs belonging to Exú should not be used in the cure. Such an attitude demonstrates how Exú's traditional link with the Catholic devil can be taken to extremes in certain circumstances. This does not imply, however, that these houses never resort to Exú for assistance. They do, but only in the context of specific rituals that take the form of returning evil forces to the person who originally sent them. If the doer of evil is known to the priest or the patient then his evil force can be reversed and sent back to him. This would be done with materials that belong specifically to Exú, and such materials must be handled with extreme care and subjected to very special treatment²⁰.

(ii) Taboos governing the use of herbs

The picking of leaves and the gathering of seeds and nuts for curing is governed by a number of taboos, and these, with slight variations, appear to be standard to all seitas, both traditional and otherwise. The observance of taboos is of primary importance in that they serve to endow the herb with a special power, herbs that are picked without the observance of taboos being considered powerless²¹.

Usually the person collecting the plant should be ritually pure and this implies that he or she should have taken some form of bath, either herbal or otherwise depending

20 This aspect of curing is discussed in greater detail below. See 152ff.

21 Cf. Vogel 1970:29, who mentions how medicine men in North America performed ceremonies to make their herbs powerful.

on the individual and the circumstances, after sexual relations, menstruation and so on. A herb that is picked when the body is ritually soiled (corpo sujo) is rendered worthless²².

It is considered imperative to ask permission (pedir permissão) from the relevant orixá before plucking any leaf growing wild in the jungle. In caboclo houses this implies merely clapping the hands softly three times over the bush in question and saying three times 'dá licença' (please), but in more traditional houses it is important to sing an incantation relevant to the orixá to whom the plant belongs²³. Common to most seitas is the custom of leaving some small offering to the caboclo spirits of the jungle, or, in the case of traditional seitas, to Ossain, god of the forest. This offering usually takes the form of a small coin or a cigar.

In the case of particular herbs and seeds, great importance is placed on the direction in which they grow, on the sex of the person who may pick them, and whether or not they are picked with the left or right hand. Cansanção, for example, when picked with the left hand, can only be used for evil ends. The fruta de São Cipriano must be allowed to ripen and fall naturally from the tree. If it falls with the concave side facing upwards it may be used as a powerful amulet to protect against the evil eye,

22 Cf. Douglas 1970:20, who mentions how taboos in the past often took the form of rules of uncleanness.

23 Bastide 1961:158-159; Krappe (1962:192-193) gives rhymes that accompanied the picking of healing herbs in Europe to increase their efficacy.

but care should be taken that it is picked up by a man. If the convex side faces upwards it may be used for evil, but only if picked up by a woman. Certain leaves that grow with the surface facing the sky must only be used for good purposes, while those that grow facing the ground must only be used for evil.

However, the purposes for which leaves or seeds may be used are not always governed by the direction in which they grow or the way they fall. It is of great importance that the picker of a leaf should have the intention of using it for good or evil firmly established in his mind before actually picking²⁴. If by some chance a leaf picked for a specific evil purpose is not used it may not under any circumstances be used for any other purpose. A leaf picked for an evil purpose remains powerful only in the context of evil and must not be used for good purposes. This notion of stating intention before undertaking such an act is fundamental to most ritual practices of this kind.

One of the principal rules governing the collection of herbs is the time of the day or night, or the date during the year on which they may be picked. Astrological factors such as the position of the sun, the phase of the moon and the season of the year govern the collection of certain herbs and seeds. A general rule is that herbs destined to be used for a good purpose should never be collected after sunset and before about 4 a.m. and if an

²⁴ That the intention should be perfectly clear in the mind of the picker is a mediaeval feature too. See Thorndike 1947:I, 79.

urgent case arises whereby a ritual must be undertaken involving the use of herbs during the night, three pieces of charcoal must be used instead. It would appear that certain herbs retain their power only during the day, which implies that their power is linked in some way to the position of the sun. Certainly, when drying herbs for the purpose of making pemba²⁵ it is advisable to dry them in the sun and not by artificial means (in the oven for example) since it is believed that the sun imparts to them a special energy (I.2, C.5). One informant (C.10) stressed the importance of wearing light-coloured clothes when gathering herbs, and this in itself could be linked to associating the colour of the clothes of the picker with the light of the sun.

(iii) The influence of astrology in the use of herbs

Traditionally the rising sun and the waxing moon have been associated with the gathering of power and strength while the setting sun and the waning moon imply the opposite. The full moon has a tremendous influence over the body, especially with regard to rheumatic pains, and bones that have once been broken are believed to give twinges of pain at the new moon and stop hurting when the moon is on the wane (I.2, C.9)²⁶. Such a belief is reflected

25 A white powder made from crushed dried herbs. See below, Chapter VII.

26 McKenzie 1927:189. Cf. Cardinall n.d.:23, who points out how in Africa on the Gold Coast, people blow ash towards the new moon because they fear that an increase in the power of the moon would bring about a decrease in their own strength.

in the following ballad:

Eu compro os banhos de	I buy snake's essence
cobra	
De fumo dou quarta e meia	And a measure of tobacco
Pra fomentar uma perna	To make an embrocation
	for my leg
Que me dói na lua cheia ²⁷ .	Which hurts when the moon
	is full.

It follows that the moon should be linked to man's vulnerability in catching diseases. Pliny tells of how '... the blood even of human beings increases and diminishes with its light', while other sources refer to how the moon can influence the increase or decrease of fever during the three days before and after the full moon, reaching the height of its powers at the equinox²⁸.

It would appear that the virtue of a particular herb lies in direct relation both to seasonal variations and to specific astrological combinations. Hence, for example, the importance attached to collecting specific herbs on the eve of the feast of St. John, a custom still followed not only in Brazil but in Spain and Portugal and in various other countries²⁹. St. John's feast day is significant in

²⁷ Magalhães 1966:151.

²⁸ Pliny II:CII, 349. See also Pettigrew 1844:21; Magalhães 1966:12-14. In mediaeval theory, the balance of humours in the human body was believed to change in accordance with the phases of the moon. See Curry 1960:13-14. Such beliefs were still being expounded in the early eighteenth century by Richard Mead, Vice-President of the Royal Society, who wrote in 1708 a Discourse concerning the Action of the Sun and Moon on Animal Bodies; and the Influence which This may have in many Diseases.

²⁹ Blache 1963:35; Castillo de Lucas 1958:132; Taboada 1952:617-622.

this context nowadays only insofar as it is on or around the ancient Midsummer Day³⁰ which was the day when the season was considered to be at its most powerful³¹. Good Friday is another day which is considered most propitious for the collection of herbs, especially dandá which takes on a special power to protect against the evil eye if picked on that day.

It follows that the time at which the seed of a plant is sown can be of equal significance, and for this reason the sowing of some plants is accompanied by a peculiar ritual. The lança de Oxalá should be sown on a Friday in the middle of a pentangle scratched on the ground³².

- 30 McKenzie 1927:154. The feast of St. John falls in the middle of Brazilian winter but it has retained the special significance the old Midsummer Day still has in Europe.
- 31 On this point see Vogel 1970:137, who points out how certain North American Indians considered some herbs to be at maximum strength only when collected in a certain brief season. See also Burton 1628:366, who quotes Bassardus Viscontinus as saying St. John's wort gathered on a Friday about the full moon in July will be at its most powerful in combating melancholy and driving away spirits.
- 32 Friday is the day set aside for the worship of Oxalá. The original African week was divided into four days set aside in honour of the four elements (earth, air, water and fire), the four cardinal points, and, by extension, the deities who presided over them. Some redistribution of days of worship to conform with the European calendar was therefore necessary when the Africans arrived in Brazil. Days set aside for certain orixás and practices do not therefore correspond exactly to those currently observed in Africa. For a further discussion of this point see Bastide 1961:120-128. It is probable that Friday was set aside for Oxalá (syncretised with Jesus Christ) because it was on that day that Christ died.

Considerably more complex rituals are necessary in the case of the acoco seedling which should be covered every day at 6 p.m. with four brand new high quality sheets.

(C.5) actually went so far as to mention the brand name of the sheets which would be ideal for the purpose. The following morning at sunrise the sheets are lifted by four virgin girls. This day-to-day ritual continues until the seedling is about a foot high³³.

The vast majority of herbs however, are in constant use and because they are considered to be more efficacious when employed freshly picked, are collected throughout the year. Such herbs only come under the influence of the sun and/or moon and this accounts for the detailed instructions that must be adhered to when picking them. The moon must be in a specific phase, or the sun at a particular angle in the sky. Observation of the position of the sun has now been superseded to a great extent by the hours of the day, hence instead of it being specified that a herb be picked before sunrise it is specified that it should be picked at around 4.30 a.m. The actual time when it may be picked is reduced to fairly narrow margins, as in the case of betis cheiroso which may be picked only between 3 a.m. and 4 a.m. Further complications arise when a herb may only be picked when both the sun and the moon are in juxtaposition to each other, the position of the moon usually being judged by the state of the tides. Hence salsa da praia can only be picked between 4 a.m. and 5 a.m. and when the tide

³³ In certain rural areas of Britain the custom still survives of planting parsley seeds on Good Friday.

is coming in - a situation that occurs only rarely during the month. This practice is not restricted to African ritual and was common throughout mediaeval Europe.

Other herbs may only be picked on specific days of the week when the sun is in a specific position. This day is usually the one dedicated to the worship of the orixá to whom the herb happens to belong - hence canela de velho can only be picked on a Monday because that is the day dedicated to Omolú who controls the plant.

Sometimes however, the situation is complicated by the herb in question being ascribed divergent qualities at different times of the day so that it can belong to more than one orixá depending on what time of the day it happens to be. This metamorphosis in character sometimes takes place during remarkably short periods of time, as, for example, in the case of coerana, which belongs either to Ogun, Yansan or Omolú between 4 a.m. and 9 a.m., and to Exú between 9 a.m. and midnight. 6 o'clock in the morning and evening, and midday and midnight are times when no herb or leaf may be picked for good purposes (with the exception of gameleira) since these are the times when it is considered that evil forces are at their most powerful and herbs lose all their beneficial virtues³⁴. The allegiance of some plants

³⁴ Taboada (1947:123) quotes the following verse illustrating the way twelve o'clock is associated with ill fortune:

Entre las doce y la una	Between twelve and one
anda la mala fortuna;	walks ill fortune;
entre la una y las dos	between one and two
anda la Madre de Dios.	walks the Mother of God.

Midnight has always been considered to be a rather dangerous time. N.B. the English expression 'witching hour'. See also Binon Cossard (1970:219) who mentions that it is dangerous for the initiate to leave the cult house at midnight, 6 a.m. and midday. These times are known popularly in Brazil as as horas abertas (open hours i.e. to evil influence).

is momentarily changed at these times, as in the case of the gameleira which belongs normally to Exú but every six hours comes under the control particularly of Omolú because those are the times when, according to one informant (C.2) 'os espíritos maus descansam no pé da gameleira' (the evil spirits rest in the gameleira). Trees such as this are greatly feared mainly because of the link with Exú ('não gosto de trabalhar com ela' - 'I don't like working with it' [I.2]), but if the leaves are picked at times when they belong to Omolú they are considered an extremely powerful means of curing and are mixed with other herbs for fumigation and ritual baths.

It is clear, then, that as the positions of the sun or moon change, so does the orixá to whom the herb belongs at different times of the day, and consequently the herb's sphere of influence is altered. Mention has already been made of how each orixá controls certain parts of the body and so the change in virtue of the herb corresponds to the different areas of control of each orixá. This is very much akin to the European idea of linking each herb to a planet and ascribing to it different virtues in accordance with the planet's position in relation to other planets in the

Similarly in Brazil it is believed that the position of

- 35 Dawson 1935:35-36; McKenzie 1927:152. The concept of linking a herb to a planet was developed principally by Paracelsus in the sixteenth century and expanded in Europe by herbalists such as Nicholas Culpeper who based their theories on ancient Babylonian and Egyptian astrology. Culpeper (1653 1st ed. 1850:V) gives precise instructions in the epistle to his The Complete Herbal as to how diseases may be cured by herbs:

'The Herbs, Plants &c. are now in the book appropriated to their proper planets. Therefore,

First, Consider what planet causeth the disease; that thou mayest find it in my aforesaid Judgment of Diseases.

Secondly, Consider what part of the body is afflicted by the disease, and whether it lies in the flesh, or blood, or bones, or ventricles.

Thirdly, Consider by what planet the afflicted part of the body is governed: that my Judgment of Diseases will inform you also.

Fourthly, You may oppose diseases by Herbs of the planet, opposite to the planet that causes them: as diseases of Jupiter by herbs of Mercury, and the contrary; diseases of the Luminaries by the herbs of Saturn, and the contrary; diseases of Mars by herbs of Venus, and the contrary.

Fifthly, There is a way to cure diseases sometimes by Sympathy, and so every planet cures his own disease; as the Sun and Moon by their Herbs cure the Eyes, Saturn the Spleen, Jupiter the Liver, Mars the Gall and diseases of choler, and Venus diseases in the instruments of Generation.'

It is likely that the close resemblance between Yoruba and mediaeval European herbal practice stems mainly from a common Babylonian and Egyptian source. Ideas from this source were widely diffused throughout the ancient world. Certainly African religions in Brazil display numerous traits characteristic of ancient Egypt and subsequently, Islam. In Egypt, for example, the connection between herbs and the gods was very close (see Wallis Budge 1928:24). For the principal contributions of ancient Egypt to mediaeval and Renaissance European herbal theory see particularly Wallis Budge 1913 and 1928.

the moon and the sun can have a marked effect on the sap of growing plants and that specific conjunctions of heavenly bodies produce situations whereby man becomes especially prone to specific diseases³⁶. It would appear therefore that as resistance to a disease diminishes, so certain herbs used to cure that disease are believed to increase in power. They are believed to become weaker in respect of one orixá and more powerful in respect of another as the day progresses (C.5, C.10, C.12).

It is a fact that in certain cases herbs belonging to one orixá are used to cure disorders in that part of the body over which the orixá has control. This is particularly the case concerning skin disorders and diseases that cause scabs to appear on the skin (smallpox, leprosy etc.) and which come under the dominion of Omolú. Matters become more complex, however, when the cure for a particular disease requires the application of two or more herbs, but this must be based on empirical experience when it has been observed that symptoms of a specific nature coupled with other symptoms imply that the indisposition concerned comes within the area of control of two or more orixás, hence the application of further herbs. In the majority of cases, however, the orixá of the patient concerned will require that a sufficient quantity of the herbs under his control be included in any group because otherwise he will become displeased and hinder the process of the cure.

³⁶ Cf. Culpeper 1653 1st ed. 1850:201; Black 1883:125-126, 129; Pettigrew 1844:19-20.

A man with a disorder that comes under the dominion of an orixá totally alien to his personality should be treated for that disorder with a preponderance of herbs belonging to his own orixá and a certain number devoted to the orixá who has control over the disorder in question. Hence in one case of leprosy encountered, the patient, who belonged to Yemanjá, had seven consecutive baths on seven consecutive days, each bath consisting of three herbs belonging to Omolú (god of skin diseases) and four or six belonging to Yemanjá and others (C.2).

The use of herbs in specific rituals, namely ritual baths (banhos), fumigation, the preparation of amulets etc. will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER IVSACUDIDA

A.

Points of similarity in African, European and indigenous practices

As we have already seen (63) there is a common tendency in folk medicine to deal with forces of evil by physical means, and so in the case of illness or mental disturbance it is believed that the evil spirit must either be frightened away by a sound beating as if it were a tangible entity or else attracted into the instrument used in beating which can then be broken and disposed of, carrying the evil with it. McKenzie (1927:84) testifies to this practice among the Yuruna Indians of Brazil:

Among the Yuruna Indians of Brazil the doctor violently rubs his sick people with a green twig all over the body. Having in this way caught the disease in the twig, he then carries it carefully outside, groaning heavily all the time and throws it away.

Akin to this practice but more closely related to the idea of frightening away the spirit than that of attracting it and then destroying it, is that alluded to by Freyre amongst other tribes, of individuals flogging one another when sick¹.

The African religions in Brazil contain a number of rituals that include flogging and this is particularly apparent in the Yoruba egun cult festivals on the island of Itaparica where the egun (spirit of the dead) is kept

¹ Freyre 1946:150-151, who even goes on to suggest that a number of Brazilian children's games reflect this practice of flagellation today.

away from onlookers by a priest who beats the ground in front of the spirit with a cane. The spirits are not evil as such but they are greatly feared because they are believed to bring instant death to any living person they come in contact with through a desire to reincarnate themselves in a living body. Yoruba peoples in Africa today attribute many misfortunes and illnesses to the anger of the spirits of the dead².

Beating with a stick is also an important aspect of the quitanda (market stall) ritual, another Yoruba legacy, in which the initiate enters the cult house bearing on her head a tray of fruit and clothes made during her seclusion, and beats with a stick those who try to steal anything off the tray³. Here the initiate is emerging from a period of seclusion and is in an extremely vulnerable state hence the importance attached to her beating off those who may look with envy upon the goods on display, thereby exposing her to the dangers of the evil eye⁴. In this case, however, it may be regarded as a preventive measure rather than the actual expulsion of recognised evil spirits.

The Europeans had a ritual similar to the indigenous and African ones just described in which forces of evil

2 Parrinder 1969:115 who should be consulted for more information on the egun and similar cults in Africa (115-136). See also Simpson 1962:1212; Verger 1957: 507-510. For the egun cult in Brazil see Lima 1946: 5-14; Binon Cossard 1970:244ff.; Bastide 1961:167-180.

3 See photograph No. 3.

4 This point is dealt with below at greater length on 223.

were frightened away albeit in a much less strenuous fashion. Instead of sticks or twigs they lightly brushed sprigs of specific leaves over the patient's body while reciting a prayer or charm, but more attention will be given to this in a subsequent chapter⁵. It is mentioned here just to demonstrate how members of all three cultures that came together in Brazil practised the custom of brushing or violently beating leaves or twigs against or near the body in order to drive away forces of evil. The term sacudida (a shaking) implies that a similar process is being enacted, for during a sacudida, certain leaves from certain plants are beaten violently against the patient to the accompaniment of certain prayers. As a result, all the evil forces are driven away⁶.

⁵ See below Chapter IX.

⁶ See photograph No. 11.

B.

Leaves employed

There are around thirty leaves that may be employed for purposes of a sacudida (see Appendix I) and of these approximately seven are the ones most commonly employed. They are given in the following table together with the orixá or orixás who control them:

Leaf	<u>Orixá</u>
<u>arocira</u>	Exú, Omolú, Yansan, Oxossi
<u>coerana</u>	Omolú, Exú, Ogun, Yansan
<u>espada de Ogun</u>	Ogun
<u>espada de Oxossi</u>	Oxossi
<u>espada de Yansan</u>	Yansan
<u>guiné</u>	Omolú
<u>São Gonçálinho</u>	Oxossi, Omolú

It will be observed that they all come under the control of one or more of a group of five orixás, and it is significant that they should do so because each of these orixás is particularly suited in his or her own way to overcome forces of evil of all kinds. Exú the trickster god, syncretised in Candomblé de caboclo with the Catholic devil, guards all entrances, therefore all orifices in the human body that may have been penetrated by the force currently making the patient ill. He is also the orixá that must be satisfied by means of the sacrifice of an animal, or, more commonly, a small offering of food or a candle, before any ritual takes place otherwise he will become angry and threaten to jeopardise the whole proceedings⁷.

⁷ This is known as the pade de Exú and is adequately accounted for in myths. See Verger 1957:110-111; Bastide 1961:217-219; Carneiro 1961:80-83. The food offering usually consists of three small dishes of manioc flour mixed with dendê oil, cachaça (sugar cane brandy) and water respectively.

An evil spirit that enters a person's body and makes him ill is often referred to as an 'Exú.' This evil spirit is considered to have been sent by an enemy through a ritual sacrifice or offering made by that enemy, and the cure often consists of making even larger gifts to Exú the orixá and requesting him to drive the evil away from the patient's body (C.1). In caboclo terms he is looked upon as being a potential evil force that can be wooed to either side hence he shares control of two of the most powerful and popular leaves used for sacudidas.

The other four orixás all have strong links through myths with death and it is for this reason that evil spirits are frightened away by them. Oxossi, the hunter, and Ogun, the warrior, inflict death in the normal course of their duties, while Omolú, the god who brings smallpox, also has the power to kill. His drum rhythm is called in Yoruba opanije which means 'He kills someone and eats him' and similar themes relating to his power to kill emerge in the incantations dedicated to him⁸.

Yansan's assistance is requested especially in that she is the only orixá who can overcome death and who is capable of standing up to the egun. This ability to overcome death is alluded to in incantations dedicated to her as in the following example collected in Cachoeira (C.7):

⁸ Verger 1957:248-249, 256-269 (Verger's orthography).

Oya Oya⁹, ela é dona
do mundo
Oya Oya, Yansan
venceu tudo
Oya Oya, ela é dona
do mundo
Oya Oya, Yansan
venceu a morte.

Oya Oya, she is the mistress
of the world
Oya Oya, Yansan
overcame everything
Oya Oya, she is the mistress
of the world
Oya Oya, Yansan
overcame death.

Her fearlessness in the face of death is such that a certain amount of tact must be employed by the curandeiro when treating a patient who belongs to Yansan in that he should under no circumstances employ coerana in the sacudida. Coerana is believed to have power to frighten away the egun and also spirits of the dead who like to linger near their relatives on earth and pester them in such a way as to make them become ill¹⁰. The leaf, which belongs in part to Yansan, may be used on anyone provided that Yansan is not his or her orixá, because she may become jealous and try to assert her superiority over the leaf at the expense of the patient's well-being (C.5)¹¹. (I.2) and (C.2) however, did not make this distinction.

9 Oya is the cry of salutation for Yansan. It is also one of her other names. See Verger 1957:402ff.

10 Such a spirit is called ar de morto and will be dealt with later at greater length. See 246-247.

11 Such reactions among the orixás are typical and occur frequently in myths. Also, whenever two protagonists in the same myth take possession of their mediums, they re-enact their mutual animosity or affection according to myth. N.B. the jealousy that exists between Oxun and Obá, both wives of Xangô, who fight each other when they take possession of their mediums. See above, 51.

C.

Description of ritual

The best times for a sacudida to take place are early in the morning when the sun is gathering strength (I.2) or at sunset 'para que o sol leve tudo' (so that the sun can take everything away) (C.2). The leaves must be freshly picked while observing all the taboos peculiar to each. Sometimes the herbs are dipped first into a bowl of salt water but this is rare nowadays (C.1, C.5). Four small heaps of gunpowder are placed on pieces of paper around the patient who must stand facing the open door so that the evil may leave the room easily (I.2, C.2). A candle is lit outside in the yard for Exú (I.2 and passim). The curandeiro takes a combination of three different plants and uses three sprigs of each, totalling nine sprigs. Sometimes, in very serious cases, the number of sprigs goes up to 14 and 21 in total (I.2, C.1, C.2). The curandeiro starts hitting the patient about the neck with the leaves and slowly works his way down to the feet. Every now and then he shakes the leaves in the direction of the open door as if shaking off any evil that may have passed on to them. All during the ritual the following prayers (usually improvised forms) are said:

(I.2)

1

Senhor Ogun, com os poderes
que Deus lhe deu,
com a espada que vós carrega,
eu vós peço que vós
com essas forças quebre
as maldades, as influências
que tiver nesta pessoa,
as perturbações, os malefícios.

Eu vós peço que dê força a esta
pessoa, quebre as forças
desses olhos maus,
em nome do nosso Pai celestial.

Jesús com nome de Jesús.
Ave Maria. Ogun ye, Ogun ye,
Ogun ye¹².

Senhor Ogun, with the powers
that God gave you,
with the sword that you carry,
I ask you that you
with these forces break
the evil, the bad influences
which may be in this person,
and also the disturbances
and malignant forces.

I ask you to give strength
to this person, break the
force of the evil eye,
in the name of our heavenly
Father.

In the name of Jesus.
Ave Maria. Ogun ye, Ogun ye,
Ogun ye.

2

21 Oguns com vossas espadas
cortai todas as maldades que
tiverem dentro desta pessoa.
Peço a todos os orixás que
ajudem neste trabalho.
Todos são irmãos.
Ajudai quebrar as forças
retirar estas radiações
que tiverem aqui.
Todos os orixás, todos os Oguns,
os 21 Oguns, o velho Omolú,
pelo dia que é de hoje,
meu pai Oxossi, eu vós peço
que quebre as forças desses
olhos maus, essas influências,

esses falsos amigos, em nome
do nosso Pai celestial.
Ogun ye, Ogun ye, Ogun ye,

O 21 Oguns with your swords
cut away all the evil that
might be within this person.
I implore all the orixás
to help in this task.

All are brothers.
Help to break the forces
to cast out these radiations
which are here.

All the orixás, all the Oguns,
the 21 Oguns, old Omolú,
by the day that is today,
my father Oxossi, I beg you
to break the forces of these
evil eyes, these bad
influences,
these false friends, in the
name of our heavenly Father.
Ogun ye, Ogun ye, Ogun ye.

12 The cry of salutation for Ogun.

3

Eu vós peço, Senhor Ogun, que
 corte todas as maldades que
 tiverem aqui, alguma pessoa que
 tiver mal coração, algum mal
 pensamento. Tome conta deles.
 Quebre todos esses olhados.

I implore you, Senhor Ogun,
 that
 you cut away all the evil
 that is
 here, any person who might
 have an
 evil heart, any evil
 thought. Look after them.
 Break all these evil eyes.

In the case here cited, the leaves employed were espada de Ogun, espada de Oxossi and São Gonçalinho, and it is clear from the prayers that the espadas are believed actually to have the power of real swords, to cut the evil in half and break it, e.g. 'cortai todas as maldades'. Qualities such as these are ascribed to a large number of leaves whose appearance is suggestive of implements associated with driving away evil by physical means and whose names imply that this is the most effective use to which they may be put.

When the leaves have been beaten all over the body they are broken and thrown outside the door into the street. The curandeiro now lights each of the small heaps of gunpowder in turn and as each heap explodes he stamps once with his left foot and pours water on the ashes saying 'o que apaga o fogo é água' (what extinguishes fire is water). This is done in order to establish the curandeiro's superiority over the spirit in question for if he has the power to frighten away the spirit with fire he shows himself to be doubly powerful if he can wield power over fire with water (I.2). The use of gunpowder in this way to frighten away forces of evil is extremely common in

Brazil and it can be readily purchased in markets and in chemist shops in the interior.

The final stage of the ritual is fumigation which will be dealt with at length in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VFUMIGATION

A.

- (i) General points regarding the use of fire as a cleansing agent

Fumigation has played an important part in ritual throughout the world, its primary function in most cultures being to purify. Fumigation, conducted under the right conditions, will cleanse the air and the body of all evil forces that may affect health or general well-being, but it is also employed as an important constituent in most healing rituals.

The reason why it is used as a purifying agent is based on the notion that fire, the ultimate purifier, when in contact with specific ingredients, will produce smoke that will serve either to repel forces of evil or attract forces of good. Smoke, together with the perfume that is part of it, is looked upon as being something which is esoteric, that cannot be grasped with the human hand and that establishes a link between the world of men and the world of the gods. The continued use of incense in fumigatory ritual in Europe most probably finds its origins in ancient Egyptian practice. Wallis Budge (1928:24) points out how incense, along with a number of other substances, was believed to be of divine origin, hence its use in ritual:

On certain occasions SHU and TEFNUT weep, and when their tears reach the ground they sink into the earth and transform themselves into the plants from which incense is made.

Fire itself has a long history in folklore in that it serves to destroy all useless or evil things while opening the way for the beginning of a new and purer existence. Judas burning, which is closely linked to the fertility of crops¹, or the burning of fallas (wax statues) in Valencia (Spain) and similar practices that take place about the time of the equinox, reflect this notion that fire destroys in order that something new may be created².

It is, then, associated with fertility and the notion of mystical rebirth in that it is always followed by the birth of a new season, a new state of affairs emerging out of the old. In Europe, particularly in Spain and Portugal, bonfires were lit close to the solstice³ for specific purposes. Jumping over the fire was considered to remedy various conditions. Childless couples would jump over the fire so that it would frighten away the evil spirits that were preventing them from having children, and marriageable youths would do likewise in order to ensure gaining a partner in marriage. Proximity to fire also extended into the area of curing and preventing disease in that jumping over a bonfire was considered adequate protection against catching the plague, and the ashes of herbs both collected and burned on the night of the feast of St. John could be used throughout the year for purposes of curing⁴.

1 Cámara Cascudo 1962:II, 406; Lima 1959:9.

2 Castillo de Lucas 1963:306-307.

3 This later became syncretised with St. John's feastday. See above, 77-78.

4 Castillo de Lucas 1963:305-306.

(ii) The use of fire as a cleansing agent in Brazil

Such practices are now only re-enacted in the Peninsula for amusement and for the sake of keeping up ancient traditions but much of the solstice bonfire tradition has survived in Bahia where it is faithfully re-enacted each year since a large proportion of the population continues to take such things seriously. Fire continues to play a particularly important part in Brazil in the field of curing. Maynard Araújo makes mention of a cure for impotence in men consisting of the patient making as if to sit on hot coals⁵. Sometimes the fire is expected sympathetically to take away the last vestiges of disease, as, for example, in the case of a cure for warts in which pieces of rock salt that have been rubbed over the wart are then thrown into the fire (I.1, I.7, C.7, C.13, C.15, S.5). In a cure for erysipelas the mixture of water and oil in which herbs are steeped before being used to bless the patient is left in the hearth and allowed to dry out. It is believed that the illness will leave the patient's body at the same time (C.14). If it is essential to conduct a reza⁶ at night then it should be done near the fire or stove, or at least with a few hot coals in an empty censer placed near the patient (I.2, C.5). The

5 Maynard Araújo 1958:155.

The Inca in Peru believed that direct contact with fire would destroy any evil force causing illness and during the citua festival people would beat each other with fire torches in order to rid themselves of disease. See Pardal 1937:156.

6 See below, Chapter IX.

cotton reel used to rezar a twisted ankle or pulled muscle is hung up over the fire or stove presumably either to dry up the pain that has passed into it or to recharge it with new energy (I.2).

Traditional European solstice and equinox practices merged very smoothly with African and indigenous rituals that involved the use of fire. Fire plays an important role in Brazilian Candomblé which has retained the traditional African method of testing whether or not a particular orixá is the correct one for an initiate by subjecting the initiate when possessed to the test of fire. If the initiate can swallow a live coal or expose his or her hands to flames without making any adverse reaction, this is taken as proof that the orixá in question is the correct one and the trance is not being simulated⁷. João do Rio describes a fire test consisting of the initiate in question having hot oil poured over her head⁸ while in Candomblé de caboclo it is very common for the medium, once possessed, to place the lighted end of a cigar between his lips, or to set light to a heap of gunpowder in his outstretched palm to prove his power to the onlookers (I.2, I.3).

The idea that a good spirit in possession of or protecting a human being will not in any way be affected by contact with fire is countered by the notion that evil spirits not only are incapable of withstanding fire but may even be destroyed by it. This belief is very ancient

7 Bastide 1961:45; Binon Cossard 1970:190.

8 João do Rio 1906:22-23.

and is still testified to in some countries during rituals involving people walking barefoot over hot coals or undergoing similar ordeals which appear to leave them unharmed. It is very strong in the Christian tradition and it accounts for the custom in the past of always subjecting condemned witches to burning at the stake so that the death of the body would be accompanied by the complete destruction of its evil soul⁹.

A number of orixás are linked through the myths to fire, hence a Xangô initiate must carry a live brazier on her head and undergo other fire tests because Xangô is the god of thunder and lightning and himself closely connected with fire¹⁰. Yansan, the goddess of the thunderbolt is one of the wives of Xangô, and therefore also connected with fire. She has been adopted as patroness of Brazilian firemen who carry her picture (usually that of her Catholic counterpart, Saint Barbara) in their fire engines. Ogun, the god of war and metal is also very closely linked to fire because he presides over the smithy where metal tools of all types are manufactured¹¹. Exú, the trickster god, is the nearest in Africa to a fire god in that it was he who at the beginning of time brought the sun for the benefit of mankind, hence he is worshipped around the time of the solstice¹². It is this link with fire that rendered

9 See Bouisson 1960:217.

10 Verger 1957:305.

11 For more information about the sacred character of the smith and his trade, and the identification of the craft of the smith with shamanism, healing, incantations etc., see Eliade 1962.

12 Frobenius 1973:246.

his syncretism with the Catholic devil, always depicted against a background of hell-fire, the more acceptable to the early African slaves. Many of the herbs associated with Exú sting when touched and leave a burning sensation on the skin (the Portuguese queimar - to burn - being used to describe this).

The Brazilian Indian, too, ascribed miraculous powers to fire seeing it as an agent that could be linked to fecundity and hence able to inflict a fundamental change on the objects it came into contact with. Making fire by rubbing sticks together was looked on as being a representation of the sexual act¹³, while the process of cooking implied that a fundamental change of state was taking place. The food could be said to be leaving a profane state and becoming sacred¹⁴.

(iii) The function of fumigation

It is clear that the process of fumigation depends to a large extent on the combination of the powers of fire with the powers inherent in the substance being used to fumigate. Karsten mentions the importance of fumigation with tobacco and other herbs as a means of purification¹⁵ and Stade refers to the Tupinambá practice of fumigating the sacred maracá gourd rattles with tobacco before use¹⁶. Its main function however is that of repelling evil forces

13 Lévi-Strauss 1973:246.

14 Reichel-Dematoff 1971:194. On this point see also Lévi-Strauss 1970.

15 Karsten 1926:381-382.

16 Stade 1874:147.

See also Câmara Cascudo 1962:I, 271-272, 371-372.

and leaving the object fumigated ritually clean and able to be used in dealings with the gods. Similarly, fumigation of this nature is used in curing rituals in order to drive away the forces of evil producing the disease. Purí-Coroado Indians who were ill were fumigated by their shamans with tobacco smoke as part of the process of curing¹⁷, and similar methods were used by the Tupinambá¹⁸ and still are used today by many Indians in the Amazon Basin¹⁹. Tobacco smoke is looked upon by them as being sacred since it is a means of inducing in the smoker a state of ecstasy whereby he can be in direct communication with the gods and achieve a spiritual state which is superior to the normal physical state, hence when it is blown over the patient it will have added power. Tobacco is currently used in this way in Candomblé de caboclo where it is common for the orixá, once manifested, to request a cigar and then puff smoke over anyone who approaches and consults him for a remedy for a specific complaint (I.2 and passim).

17 Métraux 1946:530.

18 Menezes 1957:95-96.

19 Andrade 1963:214; Murphy and Murphy 1974:84.

B.

(i) Introductory remarks concerning the ingredients employed in fumigation

The smell of the substance used to fumigate is also of great importance because, clearly, if a substance has an attractive smell when burned it will have a different function in fumigating ritual than a substance which has an unattractive smell. Substances employed for fumigation tend to fall quite easily into these two distinct categories and it follows that malodorous substances are burned in order to repel undesirable forces which may be causing the indisposition in question, while sweet-smelling substances are burned in order to attract beneficent influences²⁰. Thus garlic straw and dust picked up from a crossroads, powdered horn or hoof, manioc flour and similar materials are burned in order to repel forces of evil (afastar), while substances like incense, storax and sugar are employed to attract beneficent forces (atraer).
(ii) Non-herbal ingredients

Animal excrement is an important agent in Brazil for repelling forces of evil and its inherent power is to be found not so much in the unpleasant smell that it produces on burning but in the sacred quality attributed to dung in this and other cultures as a cleansing agent. Brazil has shown itself in recent years to be a watershed

²⁰ Anon. 1750:45-46 divides substances for fumigation into two similar categories.

for different religious practices and rituals from all over the world, and has always been quick to assimilate new ideas coming in from outside. The sanctity of the cow is well-known in Asia and cow dung is commonly used as a means of purification:

Cows are sometimes said to be gods
 Cow-dung, like the dung of any other animal, is intrinsically impure and can cause defilement - in fact it will defile a god; but it is pure relative to a mortal...the cow's most impure part is sufficiently pure relative even to a Brahmin priest to remove the latter's impurities²¹.

It is typical that in Brazil such a practice should be extended to include the excrement of other animals as well. If Spiritism can very readily be incorporated under the cloak of Candomblé it is only a short step to include the dog and other animals in the same category as the Asian sacred cow. Dog excrement is used extremely frequently in fumigation²² and it is also taken internally infused with water although curandeiros are careful to point out that under no circumstances should the patient learn precisely what the ingredients of the medicine are (I.2 and passim)²³. Elephant excrement appears to be considered powerful mainly because elephants are not indigenous to Brazil hence the excrement acquires rarity value. Substances which are rare in Brazil or which can

21 Harper 1964:182-183.

22 See also Maynard Araújo 1961:149.

23 This is a very common cure for a minor stroke that results in partial paralysis (included under moléstia do ar, see below, 242ff.) the idea behind it being to jerk the patient back to normality with a bitter brew.

only be found outside are much sought after by curandeiros because they are attributed considerable power on account of their rarity. Curandeiros rely for their supplies of elephant excrement on the infrequent visits of travelling circuses and it is significant that the use of elephant excrement is not known at all on the island of Itaparica which until fairly recently was accessible only by canoe and small fishing boat²⁴.

Other substances are used to repel forces of evil because they come from places associated with death (e.g. cemetery dirt) or because they are closely linked to a repulsive or dangerous animal. Hence the mud wall of an ants' nest or the wings of a cockroach may be included as ingredients.

Substances such as incense and storax have been used in fumigation to attract good in many different cultures for a very long time and they feature prominently in mediaeval texts on occult practices²⁵. More recent publications that rely heavily for their information on earlier texts also suggest the use of these ingredients. Reference is made particularly to the Livro Antigo e Verdadeiro de São Cipriano and the Cruz de Caravaca both of which enjoy

²⁴ The ferry service from the mainland began some fifteen years ago.

²⁵ See in particular Waite 1911; Thorndike 1947; Summers 1945:116-159.

enormous sales in Brazil and have run to many impressions²⁶.

Incense in particular is employed to attract good but it is rarely used by itself and is more often employed in conjunction with other substances, particularly herbs.

(iii) Marketed herbal ingredients

Curandeiros prefer to make up their own mixtures for purposes of fumigation but there is a wide selection of marketed varieties of herbs readily available in street markets for use in the house. These appear to be extremely popular and sell very well²⁷ but they all come without exception from suppliers in the south of Brazil, particularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro²⁸. Most stalls bought in bulk and packeted locally in order to include their own names on the packet but all stall owners admitted they would never impart such information to their customers (S.6, S.7, S.8, S.9, S.10). Stall-owners are regarded

²⁶ They are well known as publications on occult rituals throughout the world in many languages and their popularity today in Brazil is based mainly on the fact that they are the standard handbooks for anyone interested in performing such rituals. Legends have grown up around their use (such as the fairly common belief that if a man reads one of them from cover to cover he is bound to commit suicide) and there is usually a copy of one or both of them in the average curandeiro's house.

For details on St. Cyprian see Thorndike 1947:I, 428-432; Wallis Budge 1930:476; Wingate 1930; Summers 1945:122.

²⁷ 15 different varieties were sold on average per day by each of five stalls picked at random in the Mercado Santa Barbara and the Mercado Modelo (Salvador).

²⁸ Ramos 1940:218-219 gives the names of some fumigators sold in Niterói. See also Castillo de Lucas 1958 who gives an illustration of a marketed variety of fumigator acquired in Bahia (facing 54).

by the public as cheap curandeiros who fulfil rather the same function in curandeirismo as the chemist in modern medical practice.

Approximately fifty per cent of the marketed varieties have woodcuts on the packets showing a link between all the substances enclosed and an orixá who is either African or caboclo, but curandeiros who make up their own varieties make it quite plain that specific combinations of herbs need betray no affinity to any one orixá apart from the ones who control each individual herb. It is impossible to analyse the precise herb content of marketed varieties because the different leaves have been crushed into such small pieces that they are quite unrecognisable but most of the packets betray the same characteristic smell when burned. It would appear that the affinity to an orixá bears little or no relationship to the herbs employed in the vast majority of marketed varieties of fumigators but that the name of the orixá is included on the packet to cater for the needs of those who only like to work with substances that belong exclusively to or are associated with their individual orixá. Such feelings of loyalty to one's personal orixá are very typical.

Sometimes, however, the name of the variety will not include the name of an orixá but will state the definite purpose for which the fumigator should be used i.e.

Desmancha Tudo (destroy everything); Quebra Feitiço (spell breaker); Tira Mofina (get rid of misery); Vence Tudo (overcome everything); Tira Teima (get rid of obstinacy),

and it will be observed that all these names betray a preoccupation with the same thing, namely overcoming the force of evil which is causing the indisposition in question.

A large number of the packets contain many allusions to countries outside the Iberian peninsula and the West Coast of Africa mainly in order to mention the exotic for the sake of making the substance in question appear the more powerful. Hence a packet with a woodcut of St. Roche calls him São Roque de Ceilão (of Ceylon), while other packets describe their contents as being:

preparado com todos requisitos da Ciência India-Africana; Fabricado com material e plantas importadas diretamente da costa d'Africa e da India; para vencer tudo desejado pelas pessoas occultas da ciência india; o produto egipciano que simbolisa os deuses do antigo Egipto, protetor dos mortos Osiris. Produto oriental...

(prepared with all requisites from Indo-African science; Made with material and plants imported directly from the African and Indian coasts; to achieve everything desired by the occult persons of Indian science; the product of Egypt which symbolises the gods of ancient Egypt, and the protector of the dead, Osiris. Oriental product...)

Such mention of India and the Egyptian god Osiris is more characteristic of southern Brazilian Macumba which has more readily accepted influence from religions other than the traditional European, African and indigenous ones. Binon Cossard suggests that this movement in Rio de Janeiro away from a preoccupation with things that are legitimately African reflects an unconscious desire on the part of the

Brazilian lower classes, who are usually dark-skinned, to go up the social ladder towards the position of the middle or upper class white²⁹. I feel that this is not necessarily the case, however, in Bahia, where the mention of India or Egypt on a packet contributes more to the product's likely efficacy.

At times a packet manufactured in the south of Brazil and bearing the local Bahia distributor's stamp will contain information on the label which should be totally unacceptable in Bahia, even in the more flexible Candomblé de caboclo cult houses. Fumigators bearing the name of St. George are often allied as well to Ogun, a characteristic of Macumba, whereas in Bahia, St. George is nowadays only related to Oxossi³⁰. Such obvious dichotomies do not appear to matter and informants all agreed that the 'mistake' was just a characteristic of Macumba, the fumigator itself being considered as worthwhile as any other.

(iv) Home-made herbal ingredients

There is much more demand for fumigators that are home-made than for the marketed varieties, and this is based not so much on an essential conservatism as on what people regard as the dubious efficacy of the contents of the packet. The herbs and other ingredients are so unrecognisable that there is a genuine fear of there being something in the mixture which may ultimately do more harm than good. At least with the home-made varieties of

29 Binon Cossard 1970:290.

30 See also Ramos 1940:345 and Bastide 1961:191 note 99.

fumigator people know precisely what the ingredients are and the main ingredient is usually one or more herbs.

The number of herbs that may be used for fumigation is quite large (approximately forty per cent of those quoted in the Appendix) but in fact only a very few of these are used all the time. These are shown in Table a together with the orixás to whom each belongs:

Table a

ATTRACT		REPEL	
Herb	Orixá	Herb	Orixá
alfazema (leaf) picked before midday	Oxun Yemanjá	alfazema (leaf and seed) picked after sunset	Yansan
arruda	Yansan	arruda	Yansan/ Omólú
capim de caboclo	Yansan	abre caminhos	Ogun
manjeriçã	Oxun, Yemanjá/ Naná/ Oxalá	tira teima	Ogun
		vencetudo	Ogun

It will be noted that those herbs used to repel forces of evil belong to Ogun, Yansan or Omólú, the first two of whom are orixás associated with physical power. They both carry a sword with which they are able to overcome

most difficulties with ease. Those herbs associated with Ogun reveal this quality in their names which contain references to physical intervention on the part of the orixá: abre caminhos (open the ways); tira teima (get rid of obstinacy); vencetudo (overcome everything). Omolú's ability to repel and the reasons for it have already been discussed³¹.

Those herbs used to attract good belong to Oxun, Yemanjá, Naná, Oxalá and Yansan, and all these orixás with the exception of Yansan are at first sight associated with gentleness, calm and other similar characteristics which are more suitable for attracting good forces than expelling evil ones. Yansan, however, may enter into this category in that she has a double-sided character. Usually she is the archetype of impetuous, domineering women but she does have a side to her character which is more feminine and more gentle. Her filhas de santo quite readily put themselves into these two different categories the more extrovert ones saying that they belong to Yansan pé de abano (Yansan of the fan-shaped foot) and the less extrovert ones claiming allegiance to Yansan do pé lavado (Yansan of the washed foot). Yansan is not alone among the orixás to have these two sides to her character, Yemanjá and Oxun particularly standing out as the orixás usually associated with beauty and equilibrium but also with the primeval forces associated with the sea and with rivers. Yemanjá, goddess of salt water, is related in

³¹ See above, 89.

myths to the life-giving principle behind all living things in that it was she who gave birth to all the other orixás³². Oxun, goddess of fresh water, is very close to her and they are often depicted in statues or pictures as erotic mermaids or finely-clad goddesses emerging from the sea with accentuated breasts and hips to underline their importance as fertility figures. Stories about the faithful to their cult are riddled with instances of self-sacrifice, or of the goddess herself claiming her son or daughter³³. There is, therefore, an extremely forceful side to their characters, and for this reason a number of herbs belonging to them are also used to repel forces of evil³⁴.

Table b gives a breakdown of all the principal orixás who control herbs that may be used for fumigation. It will

³² Verger 1957:292.

³³ See especially Ramos (1940:320-323), who quotes incidents that appeared in the Diario da Noite, Rio de Janeiro, 12-10-1938 and in A Tarde, Bahia, 2-1-1931. In 1974 during the installation of a sewer outlet at Rio Vermelho beach (Salvador) unusually high seas delayed work for some months and a number of workers' lives were lost. Local people unanimously declared that Yemanjá was angered at the prospect of a sewer outlet being constructed on the beach that has traditionally been reserved for her worship by fishermen and others, especially on her two major feast days of the year (2nd February and 8th December). See Verger 1957:293; Ramos 1940:306; Tavares n.d.:65ff. See also Hole 1967:184-186 for further details concerning the rôle of ancient sea gods.

³⁴ See for example in Appendix I: alfazema, folha de laranja da terra, malva risco.

be observed that Yemanjá stands out among all the others as being the orixá who controls or shares control of most of the herbs that are able to be used to attract and repel, and the three orixás directly behind her are all feminine. The majority of herbs that may be used for fumigation, therefore, come under the control of feminine orixás. The powers of the herbs to attract good or repel evil are fairly evenly distributed with the emphasis slightly more on the side of attracting than of repelling. The remaining orixás are all masculine, Oxalá still showing an emphasis on the ability to attract while Oxossi is equally powerful in both functions. Ogun and Omolú, however, show a definite movement away from the ability to attract, in favour of the ability to repel.

Table b
HERBS USED IN FUMIGATION

Orixá	(a) to attract	(b) to repel	Total
Yemanjá	8	6	14
Oxun	4	4	8
Yansan	4	4	8
Naná	4	3	7
Oxalá	4	2	6
Oxossi	3	3	6
Ogun	1	4	5
Omolú	1	4	5

C.

(i) The ritual involved in fumigation

Fumigatory rituals fall into two distinct categories. Either fumigation takes place as a preventive measure or it forms part of a definite curing ritual.

It is common in Bahia to fumigate the house every Saturday at 6 p.m. as a preventive measure in order to keep away any undesirable forces that may disrupt the harmony within (C.2, I.2, I.3, S.2)³⁵. In this case the ingredients used would be both to attract good and repel evil and they would all be included in the censer at the same time. Usually five or seven ingredients are employed, at least one of which must be known to be powerful in repelling evil, the majority of the substances being sweet-smelling. Two very common mixtures used a lot in Cachoeira and sold already mixed in the market were (a) alecrim, alfazema, tirateima, vencetudo, incense; (b) alecrim, alfazema, azafrão, incense, storax, garlic straw, sugar. This is similar to the Portuguese custom of fumigating the house with alecrim, arruda, piassaba, powdered incense and rock salt all together, while crossing from one corner to another in each of the rooms³⁶. In Brazil, however, the person fumigating must start at the back door and work his way through all the rooms of the house to the front door when all the contents of the censer are thrown into the street (C.2 and passim).

However, if the ritual is being conducted for the

³⁵ See also Lima 1946:101.

³⁶ Mentioned by Valle 1963:596.

specific purpose of ridding a patient of an evil force that is making him ill, or ridding his house of a similar force that is bringing disaster and misfortune to himself and his family, then the ritual must be divided up into two parts. It is considered of primary importance first to get rid of the evil that is causing the indisposition in question and after that to attract forces of good, because if a good force is attracted to and sealed in a place where an evil force reigns, the evil force may never be able to leave. The fumigation that forms part of a sacudida ritual consists first of burning powdered coffee and garlic straw, for example, followed by sugar and lavender or some other suitable substance. The censer is usually passed all round the patient and particularly beneath each armpit³⁷. If the house is being fumigated the person fumigating starts at the back door with ingredients that repel and throws all the contents of the censer through the front door into the street. The censer is then recharged with live coals and ingredients to attract good and the person fumigating works from the open front door to the back door which remains shut (I.2, C.2).

(ii) Prayers and Chants that accompany the ritual

Fumigatory rituals are often accompanied by prayers and chants which find their origin mainly in Portugal. Valle gives the following from North Portugal which is said while fumigating a house:

³⁷ See photographs Nos. 15 and 16.

Assim como Nossa Senhora
Defumou seu amado Filho

Para bem cheirar

Eu defumo esta casa (or pessoa)

Para todo o mal dela retirar³⁸

Just as Our Lady
Fumigated her beloved
Son
That he might smell
sweet
So do I fumigate this
house/(person)
That all the evil
inside might go away

and Leite de Vasconcellos quotes the following variation
to cure a child:

Assim como Nossa Senhora
Defumou seu amado Filho

Para bem cheirar

Assim eu te defumo
Para o mal te deixar³⁹

Just as Our Lady
Fumigated her beloved
Son
That he might smell
sweet
So do I fumigate you
That the evil might
leave you.

In Itaparica a similar prayer is sung to music:

(I.2)

1

Nossa Senhora incensou seu altar
Para seu bento Filho cheirar
Incensai, Nossa Senhora, incensai
Para a saúde e a paz entrar
(or Para seu bento Filho cheirar)

Our Lady incensed her
altar
That her blessed Son
might smell sweet
Incense, Our Lady,
Incense
So that health and
peace might enter
(That her blessed Son
might smell sweet).

The origin of the words of this prayer is clearly Portuguese
though it is sometimes chanted in such a way as to appear
more closely linked to the African Candomblé ceremonies.
This is also the case with the following chants in which one
line is repeated over and over again with little melodic
variation in characteristic African fashion:

³⁸ Valle 1963:596.

³⁹ Vasconcellos 1882:121.

(I.2)

2

Incensa incensador
A casa do meu avô

Incense censer
my grandfather's home

(I.2)

3

Eu já incensei (bis)
Ora minha Senhora
(or Estou louvando)
Eu já incensei

I have now fumigated (bis)
O my Lady
(I am praising)
I have now fumigated.

It is very common in Brazil during spoken prayers that accompany fumigation to associate the ingredients in the censer with what one is trying to achieve by means of repeated similes, but this is usually the case only when fumigating to attract good. E.g.:

(I.2 and passim)

4

Assim como este açúcar
é doce, eu na frente
dos meus inimigos hei de
adoçar. Assim como esta
alfazema cheira, eu na
frente deles hei de
cheirar. Com os poderes
de Deus e da Virgem Maria
Amén.

Just as this sugar
is sweet, I before
my enemies will
sweeten. Just as this
lavender smells sweet, I
before them will
smell sweet. With the power
of God and the Virgin Mary.
Amen.

CHAPTER VIRITUAL BATHS

A.

General points regarding the use of water as a cleansing agent

The idea that ritual pollution can be removed by water is widespread and was certainly common to the three principal cultures that came together in Brazil. Water was considered to be akin to fire in that it was not only a purifier that could wash away all forms of uncleanness, but also a fertilising agent that had the essential quality of being able to accomplish a transformation from one state to another. At the very basis of purification is the notion of fertility because purification implies that some form of transformation is taking place:

The phenomenon of birth carries with it the ideas of the ceremonially unclean; hence the numerous precautions and taboos to be observed until the mother's Churching, that is, her first appearance at church. Under the same trend of ideas both mother and child are believed to be particularly exposed to the attack of demons; hence the precaution of having a burning candle by the bedside, fire being a well-known apotropaion.....The practice of putting new-born children on the fire,...and the corresponding rite in which water is credited with having the beneficent effects attributed to fire in the previous one...are but other forms taken on by the same set of primitive notions.

Nor can one accept as the only possible one the usual interpretation of the baptismal rite as signifying a ceremonial cleaning. The idea of purification no doubt existed in fairly remote times. Yet equally old is the conception of water as the fertilising element.....(Krappe 1930 1st ed. 1962:222-223, 274).

The custom of washing the new-born among the Tupi tribes is based upon the same idea as baptism in the early Christian Church in that the new-born child is considered to be ceremonially unclean and must be purified in order to survive. A Tupinambá woman out of preference gave birth to her child close to water, usually on the banks of a river¹, and as soon as the child was born, her husband washed it well and then proceeded with other rituals connected with protecting the child from evil or ensuring his future potential as a hunter². A similar ritual is performed today among the Guayaki³ and the Nambicuara⁴. Water in this instance transforms the child, taking it out of the state of impurity that accompanied the birth to a sacred state which ensures its ability to develop its relationships with the gods. The ritual bath not only forms part of every ritual that is undertaken during the major stages of a person's life (birth, puberty, initiation, marriage etc.) but is taken on a day-to-day basis among many different tribes and tribe members may take between seven and ten a day⁵.

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- 1 Menezes 1957:44. This custom is based not so much on the notion that the river's flow, according to the principles of 'sympathetic magic', would ease the birth of the child, but on the idea that all men are connected with paradise by means of rivers which are looked upon as being umbilical cords. The human mother assumes the rôle of the earth mother by giving birth on the banks of a river. On this point see Reichel Dolmatoff 1971:57.
- 2 de Léry 1972:210.
- 3 Métraux & Baldus 1946:442.
- 4 Oberg 1953:102.
- 5 Menezes 1957:44.

The Pataxó Indians, who live in a FUNAI⁶ reserve in the south of the State of Bahia, make a point of having a ritual bath before eating food and directly after entering a friend's house (P.1), and Karsten mentions how the Jibaro warrior must be ceremonially washed on his return from battle⁷. Such examples of ritual bathing among the Indian population of Brazil are legion and the custom is clearly based on the notion that the bather achieves an exceptional state of purity which must be maintained by taking other baths periodically. Similar ideas concerning ritual purity are found elsewhere too. Harper isolates three main stages in Havik Brahmin pollution rules whereby the middle stage is the normal everyday position and the highest and lowest stages mark the pure and impure states respectively. The highest position of purity can only be achieved by a rite of bathing and it is only when in this position that the Brahmin can adequately worship his gods⁸.

This is also the case in the African religions of Brazil where no ritual act, however small, can be undertaken without the parties concerned having bathed themselves shortly beforehand. The Africans undoubtedly took a lot of their ideas concerning bathing from Islam and brought

6 Fundação Nacional do Índio, a Government Indian Protection Foundation.

7 Karsten 1926:482.

8 Harper 1964:153. Harper's article is discussed by Douglas 1970.

these with them to Brazil⁹. Traditionally, cult houses should have a stream or river running through the land adjoining the house and the water should be clean enough to be able to be used for all rituals during the year.

Filhas de santo bathe themselves in the stream every morning and water drawn from the stream goes into the clay pots representing the orixás in the peji (sanctuary in the cult house) and forms the basis of the mixture in which the stones (known as otá) belonging to each orixá, and the beads belonging to the faithful of the cult, are washed¹⁰. Contact with the water heightens the person's and the object's sacred character and raises them to a higher spiritual plane.

Washing, therefore, has nothing to do with the removal of physical dirt - indeed, a ritual bath in Brazil usually consists of a tin of water simply tipped over the head - but it does remove all forms of pollution, which is essential before entering into contact with the gods¹¹. Andrade points out how the adjective sujo (dirty) is a euphemism for the Devil in Portugal and Brazil and quotes two quatrains that link the presence of the Devil with ritual uncleanness, and washing with purification:

9 For the Moslem influence among the African peoples of Brazil see Rodrigues 1935:28-33.

10 See Bascom 1950 and Bastide 1961:90-91. See also Carneiro 1961:105-106 for annual rite of purification known as agua de Oxalá (Oxalá's water).

11 Eliade 1962:55 stresses the importance of ritual purity when entering into the presence of the sacred.

See also Anon. 1750:126.

Fugide, inimigos
 Pra trás, Satanás!
 Se a carne for limpa
 Mal me não farás, Amem.

Flee enemies,
 Back Satan!
 If the flesh were clean
 You would not do me evil.
 Amen.

Senhora Sant'Ana
 Sois nosso refugio!
 Nós vamos ao banho¹².
 Pra largar o sujo¹².

Lady Sant'Ana
 You are our refuge!
 We are going to bathe
 To be rid of dirt.

Pollution in Brazil is not as complex a matter as it can be in other societies¹³, a person being considered de corpo sujo (dirty of body) after either sexual intercourse or menstruation (I.2 and passim). Sometimes merely being in, or sleeping in, the same room as a member of the opposite sex can be considered ritually polluting but this is not common (C.5).

In any ritual act, however small, the person concerned and all the onlookers must be de corpo limpo (clean of body), and this means that a ritual bath must have been taken shortly before the act. Hence a bath taken in the morning is not considered sufficiently purifying if one is to attend a ritual in the late afternoon, and there are often officials at the door of Candomblé rituals or spirit sessions who are watchful for signs that all members of the public have recently washed (I.7, C.2, C.8).

On one occasion in Itaparica a man was turned away at the door of a house where a spirit session was due to take place because his hair was not wet and this implied to the officials present that he had not had a bath shortly before coming (I.7).

¹² Andrade 1963:221-222.

¹³ See Douglas 1970, particularly 46-47.

Care should be taken not to touch amulets when the body is impure and filhas de santo hang up their beads before menstruation so as to ensure that they will not touch them by mistake when menstruating. Any object that should only be touched when the body is ritually pure immediately loses its power if touched when the body is unclean. If such defilement takes place deliberately, the person's orixá may punish the filho/filha de santo by forcing him or her when possessed to practise self-flagellation or to sleep on a bed of nettles. Leaves may not, under any circumstances, be picked when the picker is in an impure state because they immediately lose their power, and it is believed in certain cases that grave damage can be done to the plant or tree. The acoco tree, for example, will wither and die if touched by someone who is ritually unclean (C.1, C.5).

The idea in many cultures that dealings with the sacred may only be undertaken by one person who is usually unmarried stems from the belief that sexual intercourse defiles. His or her chastity is the link between the world of men and the world of the gods. Moreover, the virginity of the priest is attributed power because his virginity sets him aside from other men and imparts to him the means of persuading the gods to do the will of man¹⁴. Celibacy among Candomblé priests is rare nowadays but the Malé cult still observes it in its traditional houses (C.10) and

¹⁴ Krappe 1962:296.

it is a curious fact that many married pais or mães de santo no longer cohabit with their marriage partners through being legally separated.

The purificatory influence of pure water extends into the area of curing in that it can serve to remove evil influences from the body¹⁵. Lucas (1963:303-304) mentions how a bath on the night of the feast of St. John removes all evil from the body and that a childless couple should bathe naked for fertility, while in Brazil it is certainly common during spirit sessions for the president to sprinkle water over any patients present and wash their faces with the water in the copo de vidência¹⁶.

15 See also Maynard Araújo 1961:153.

16 This is a glass of water used for divination. See below, 291, and see photographs Nos. 4 and 14.

B.

(i) Introductory remarks concerning herbal baths

Ritual bathing, however, becomes considerably more complex with the addition of different herbs, and other substances. The possible combinations of herbs appear to be infinite and in many cases it is the orixá of the curandeiro in question who dictates which specific herbs should be employed for each individual patient. The vast majority of herbs listed in Appendix I may be used for some kind of ritual bath, so the curandeiro's knowledge of plant lore must be considerable and his fame as a curandeiro tends to be measured in terms of the extent of his skill in such matters. One informant in Cachoeira (C.1) who had been a pai de santo for 28 years admitted 'eu ainda aprendo' (I am still learning), and this sums up the general attitude towards the use of herbs in baths. Their power is considered to be limitless provided it is harnessed in the correct way. One herb used by itself in a bath may be of little use, but combined with other herbs may take on enormous importance. It is futile to try to record the different combinations because each individual's requirement is looked upon as being a special case that calls for specific combinations of herbs. A curandeiro does not prescribe for a particular illness, rather he prescribes for the individual who is ill. Parrinder (1969:157) records an identical viewpoint in Africa:

A young Agni woman when asked what leaves she used for treatment, said she did not know. But when she was in a trance, she plunged into the forest and plucked unthinkingly those leaves that came to hand. When we asked her if all sicknesses of the same type did not require the same treatment, she replied that no two sicknesses were alike, but that they depended on the people who are sick.

Curandeiros under normal circumstances are loath to part with their knowledge and this is not so much based on a fear that their knowledge may at some future date be used against them, but on the notion that herbs may lose their power if too many people who are not going to use them for the purpose for which they were created learn too much about them. There is a wide aura of mystery surrounding certain key herbs, (such as acoco, for example) which informants are unwilling to clarify.

Herbal baths come under the generic name of banhos de cheiro (perfumed baths), and as in the case of fumigators, there are basically two different types: one to repel forces of evil and the other to attract forces of good. Their functions, however, do go somewhat deeper than this, depending on the seriousness of the indisposition being cured.

(ii) The banho de descarga

Baths that are supposed to repel are called banhos de descarga or discarrego¹⁷, implying that their function is to unload and dispense with something weighing heavily on the patient. Herbs used in these baths are usually crushed in the bare hands and left to stand for a few moments in water.

¹⁷ A corruption of the word descarregamento (unburdening).

Then the whole mixture is tipped over the head. The patient, however, should not under any circumstances wipe himself dry or attempt to remove any of the leaves or twigs left sticking to his body or in his hair (I.2 and passim). The importance of leaving the banho to dry itself on the body has been noted elsewhere¹⁸, and it seems to be based on the notion that the mixture should be allowed to soak in and thoroughly permeate the skin with its own particular perfume. One informant (C.5) suggested that the herbs, once combined in a banho, took on a particular cosmic power which it was above man's station to touch, hence it should be allowed to dry of its own accord.

The orixás that control the principal herbs used in descarga baths are shown in Table a. Again, those orixás associated with physical strength (Yansan, Ogun) or the primeval powers of oceans and rivers (Yemanjá, Oxun) feature high on the list, together with Omolú the smallpox god who frightens away all evil with the threat of death.

Table aBanhos de Descarga

<u>Orixá</u>	No. of herbs controlled
Omolú	15
Yemanjá	14
Yansan	14
Oxun	13
Ogun	13
Naná	7
Oxossi	5
Exú	5
Oxalá	3

¹⁸ Câmara Cascudo 1962:I, 93.

(iii) The banho de desenvolvimento

The type of bath designed to attract good is called banho de desenvolvimento (development bath) and as its name implies it is supposed primarily to develop and refresh the mind. It is taken usually as a form of tonic and herbs particularly favoured are those that have stood on the table during a spirit session and have therefore been close to the spirits as they manifested themselves. Flowers are also commonly employed in desenvolvimento baths, especially angélica, also called flor de capela (chapel flower). The leaves or flowers are put into a pan of water which is brought to the boil and is then immediately taken off the heat, and as in the case of a banho de descarga, the entire contents are then tipped over the head and the body must not be wiped dry (I.2 and passim). Some curandeiros stipulate that a warm bath (known as banho cozido: cooked bath) should not be tipped over the head but only from the neck downwards, while raw baths should always be poured first over the head (C.1, C.2)¹⁹. The banho de desenvolvimento may be taken by itself at any time during the day, but the banho de descarga is usually immediately followed either by fumigation with substances to attract good, or by a banho de desenvolvimento²⁰. This may be connected to the notion that any evil force must be

19 Anon. (1750:42) recommends the exorciser to do as follows:
'Il faut qu'il se purifie avec l'eau exorcisée depuis le sommet de la tête jusques aux pieds...'

20 It may also be followed by the application of pemba: see next chapter.

dispensed with before endeavouring to attract a good force, such as we have already observed in the case of fumigation. However, it may also be linked to the fact that one bath (descarga) is raw, and the other (desenvolvimento) is cooked, and for this reason the one should follow the other.

Harper has pointed out how Havik Brahmins make a distinction between cooked and raw food as carriers of pollution.

Cooked food may pass on pollution while raw food will not²¹.

I feel there may be a similarity here with the two types of bath in Brazil in that the raw bath always precedes the cooked one. The raw bath purifies and annihilates any force that may become malignant, while the cooked bath fortifies the good forces that remain.

Table b shows the orixás that control the principal herbs employed for banhos de desenvolvimento. It will be observed that Omolú now no longer plays a major role while Ogun features among the first four principal orixás. One of the principal characteristics of the banho de desenvolvimento is development and expansion of the spirit, and one of Ogun's functions is to 'abrir caminhos'²² (open the ways) with his sword in the sense of clearing away difficulties and establishing a smooth path to follow.

²¹ Harper 1964:156.

²² N.B. There is a herb called abre caminhos which belongs to Ogun.

Table b

Banhos de Desenvolvimento

Orixá	No. of herbs controlled
Oxun	14
Yemanjá	14
Yansan	11
Ogun	10
Naná	8
Omolú	6
Oxossi	5
Oxalá	5
Exú	4

Oxun, Yemanjá and Yansan feature high on both lists because they have a double-sided nature already noted above²³ whereby they are able at the same time to play a rôle involving physical force, or gentleness more normally associated with the female sex.

Desenvolvimento baths as here described are usually taken at the patient's discretion and he will acquire his herbs either growing wild or at a herb stall in a market. Descarga baths, however, are usually, but not always, prescribed by curandeiros who may consult their personal orixás in some cases.

(iv) Marketed varieties of ready-prepared banho

There are also, as in the case of fumigators, large numbers of marketed varieties of banhos which are readily available in market stalls and appear to enjoy the same sales turnover as marketed fumigators. In fact they are similar to marketed fumigators in every way and display the

²³ See above, 110-111.

same characteristic titles and woodcuts on the packets. They either consist of finely crushed leaves (thereby rendered unrecognisable) or they are sold in liquid form in bottles. The packet usually advises the patient to say a prayer such as the Hail Mary or Our Father on taking the bath but one variety found in Bahia but manufactured in Rio de Janeiro, suggested accompanying the bath with the following prayer in Latin. It is transcribed complete with errors.

Ore: Accipiatu quae semper Domine Deus noster, bene,
dictionem tuam creatura tua ista, qua corpore,
salvetur, et mente congruam-que tibi exhibeat
servitutem a tuae propitiationis beneficiis semper -
in - veniat Per Christum. Amen.

C.

(i) The banho de abó

Curandeiros use two other types of bath, both extensions of the descarga and desenvolvimento baths studied so far, which are of prime importance in curing particularly serious or complex cases. These are called abó and amasi²⁴. In traditional houses, they form part of every major ritual especially those connected with initiation and the advancement of the initiate up the ladder of the priestly hierarchy. The iaô (initiate) must have an abó bath every day and drink some of the mixture before pouring it over her head. The mixture is also splashed on the ground over which the initiate walks, in order to purify it and ward off all danger²⁵. Abó baths are taken by participants in obi and bori ceremonies which are rituals that allow the person involved to renew his faith and devotion to his orixá at a somewhat higher level than initiation²⁶. Often the abó bath, whenever taken, is followed by an amasi. It is true that in Candomblé de caboclo cult houses the abó and amasi baths are also employed at certain stages of normal everyday ritual, but they have also come to be used by curandeiros to cure serious illnesses that will not respond to simpler treatment (e.g. baths of a less complex nature discussed above).

²⁴ The words are Yoruba, adopted by the Candomblé de caboclo followers.

²⁵ Binon Cossard 1970:179,181.

²⁶ For obi and bori see above, 56.

In traditional cult houses they mark a turning point during particular rituals, and in the same way they serve to mark a turning point in the treatment of disease.

The components of the abó are very secret and members of the priestly hierarchy of traditional cult houses would never divulge such information. Ramos describes it as 'um banho de folhas aromáticas, que só os pais e mães de santo conhecem',²⁷ (a bath of aromatic leaves, known only by pais and mães de santo), and Câmara Cascudo says it is 'um banho aromático cujas ervas só são conhecidas pelo Pai ou Mãe-de-Santo',²⁸ (an aromatic bath the constituent herbs of which are only known by a pai or mãe de santo). Candomblé de caboclo informants show the same resistance when asked to detail the components of the abó but in certain houses in Cachoeira and Itaparica, the following recipes for a banho de abó were obtained:

(C.1)

1

alecrim
aroeira
folha da Costa
espada de Ogun
macassá
 grated obi nut
 river/rain water
 honey
 blood of sacrificial animal

27 Ramos 1940:66.

28 Câmara Cascudo 1951:93.

Rodrigues (1900:56-57) describes it as 'des infusions de plantes qui jouissent les propriétés très stimulantes et qui sont considérées comme sacrées' (infusions of plants which contain very stimulating properties and which are considered as sacred).

(c.8)

2

acoco
aroeira
betis branco
cajá
coerana
espada de Ogun
narciso branco
São Gonçalinho
 grated obi nut
 river/rain water
 blood of sacrificial animal

(c.6)

3

alecrim
aluman
angélica
aroeira
arruda
catimba de porco
catimba de crioula
coerana
espada de Ogun
espada de Oxossi
espada de Yansan
guiné
lança de Oxalá
pinhão roxo
tapete de Oxalá
vassourinha de Nossa Senhora
 garlic straw
 grated obi nut
 rock salt
 river/rain water
 blood of sacrificial animal.

(I.2)

4

aroeira
capianga
espinho cheiroso
guiné
murici
São Gonçalinho
tirateisa
vencetudo
 blood of sacrificial animal
 river/rain water

All four informants agreed that the number of leaves that enter the abó should be 5, 9, 12 or 21. The leaves ideally should all be different but quantities may be made up by using more than one sample of one leaf. All leaves that go into the abó must be picked very early in the morning preferably between 3 - 4 a.m. In this case normal taboos with regard to hours of picking are waived when appropriate. The animal concerned in the sacrifice is normally the animal dedicated to the principal orixá presiding over the cult house in question. The mixture is made up in a jar with a lid and this is then either buried or suspended at a height of about six feet against the trunk of one of the following trees: dendê, jaqueira or cajá. The mixture is then left for a period of at least twelve days during which it putrifies, but it is best to keep it as long as possible. The best abó mixtures are those made at the beginning of the year and used whenever required, the mixture being topped up from time to time whenever necessary²⁹. The abó bath, after a while, takes on an extremely pungent, rotten smell, but it is taboo at all times to refer to its unpleasant odour with any word other than cheiro which implies a sweet smell. If a word like feder (to stink) is used, the abó will have a purely maleficent effect.

It will be noted that all four informants give different herbs that often do not coincide with those in the other

²⁹ Bascom (1950:66) records a similar procedure in Cuba.

recipes, aroeira being the only one included in all the recipes. (I.2) concluded her list by saying that 'todas as ervas fortes' (all the strong herbs) could be included if considered necessary. Each recipe, however, contains ingredients that between them give a very fair representation of all the orixás, and the addition of blood and the obi nut raise the level of the abó beyond that of other types of banho we have already examined. Blood is the all-powerful ingredient and animals are sacrificed throughout the year because the shedding of their blood provides essential energy and food for the orixás³⁰, while the obi nut is attributed great powers and used in most important rituals including divination³¹. The abó bath, therefore, provides a strong link with the world of the gods and many people, on taking it, fall into a trance, while it is also common for the mere smell of the liquid to induce a trance state (I.2 and passim)³². It is this proximity to the power of the spirit world that can expel the most maleficent spirits believed to be the cause of illness.

The abó bath must, under all circumstances, be taken raw because 'o que vive da vida' (what is alive gives life) (C.1). The body must not be wiped dry, but as in the case of other banhos, allowed to dry itself. In certain cases all the remnants of the herbs used that fall to the floor must be collected, dried out and then burned (I.4, C.5, C.6).

30 Bascom 1950:65.

31 For the use of the obi in divination see Simpson 1962:1208-1209.

32 Cf. Binon Cossard 1970:181.

(ii) The banho de amasi

The amasi bath, when used as a means of curing, often follows the abó directly. It has a complementary function in relation to the abó whose effect is not complete without the final 'seal' of the amasi. Whereas the abó is of fixed ingredients, the herbs that go into the amasi often vary in accordance with the preferences of each orixá. Hence a person belonging to an orixá will take an amasi made up of herbs that come under the particular control of his orixá. The individual composition of the amasi with respect to the patient's orixá finds its origin in traditional houses. Bastide, with reference to the amasi in the Nagô cult, calls it 'um banho em cuja composição entram folhas especiais pertencentes ao respectivo Orixá'³³ (a bath in the composition of which enter special leaves belonging to the respective orixá). Binon Cossard however, implies that the amasi (in the Angola cult) is made up strictly in accordance with the individual's requirements and mentions an amasi of herbs chosen specifically to keep away the egun³⁴.

However, it would appear that certainly in the case of Candomblé de caboclo there is a fixed number of herbs and other ingredients that must form the base of the amasi to which other herbs, depending on the case in question, are added. Two lists of stock herbs were obtained as follows:

³³ Bastide 1961:154.

³⁴ Binon Cossard 1970:249.

(C.1)

1

bonina
cajá
manjeriçã
sangolovo
 grated obi nut
 blood of sacrificial animal.

(C.8)

2

acoco
aroeira
betis branco
cajá
narciso branco
São Gonçalinho
 blood of sacrificial animal.

As in the case of the abó bath, the herbs included in both the recipes for amasi are all different with the exception of cajá which features in both recipes.

The main difference between the abó and the amasi is that the amasi is not allowed to putrify, hence its smell is a pleasant one. It is made by crushing the different leaves in water and then allowing the mixture to stand for at least 2 - 3 hours and sometimes overnight. Like the abó it is always taken raw and tipped over the head, and again, the body should not be wiped dry.

CHAPTER VII

PEMBA

A.

(i) Introductory remarks concerning pomba

Pemba is a powder that is used during many Candomblé rituals and also as a means of curing. The importance of it in ritual is accounted for in a myth¹:

Mesmo depois de casado com Oshun, Shango continuou indo a festas sozinho, a fazer farras e a ter aventuras com mulheres. Oshun queixava-se de ficar só em casa e brigavam....Por isso ele trancou-a numa torre do seu palácio. Um dia, Eshu Etameta, o dono das encruzilhadas veio para uma encruzilhada defronte do palácio de Shango. Viu Oshun chorando na varanda e perguntou porque era. Ela contou e ele foi dizer a Orumila. Este preparou um ishe (pó de folhas mágicas) e mandou dizer a ela que deixasse a janela aberta. Ele então soprou o pó que, entrando pela janela, transformou Oshun numa pomba. Ela voou para a casa do pai e aí ele transformou-a de novo. É por isso que Oshun não come pombo.

(Even after marrying Oshun, Shango continued going to feasts by himself, having a good time and various adventures with women. Oshun complained about remaining at home alone and so they had a row....For this reason he locked her away in a tower in his palace. One day, Eshu Etameta, the owner of the crossroads, arrived at a crossroads in front of Shango's palace. He saw Oshun crying on the veranda and asked her the reason. She told him the story and he then went and told it to Orumila. Orumila prepared an ishe [a powder of magic leaves] and told Eshu to tell her to leave her window open. He then blew on the powder which went through the window and transformed Oshun into a dove. She flew back to her father's house where he transformed her back. This is the reason why Oshun does not eat doves.)

Bastide makes mention of the same magical powder ('..pó-talismã, o Ixê...') that is rubbed into tattoo marks during the process of initiation². The words ishe and ixê are

1 Transcribed by Ribeiro and given by Bastide 1961: 236-237.

2 Bastide 1973:256.

clearly linked with exé which was given to me in Itaparica by (I.2) as an alternative way of referring to pemba.

(ii) Marketed varieties of pemba in solid form

As in the case of fumigators and baths there are marketed varieties of pemba as well as those that can be prepared in the home. The marketed varieties fall into two distinct categories in that they can be either solid or powdered. An elemental analysis of the solid variety revealed that it is made up mainly of kaolin with 0.21 per cent carbon and 1.94 per cent hydrogen³. Its consistency is the same as chalk and originally it came in two shapes, one oval and the other circular. The oval shape is by far the most common, and although informants (C.5, C.10) speak of the existence of the circular type I never came across an example. These shapes are called masculine and feminine respectively but since the feminine shape is now no longer common this distinction of sex is rarely made⁴.

3 The analyses of substances given in this chapter are based on infra-red spectroscopy conducted by the Department of Chemistry of the University of St. Andrews.

This corresponds to Binon Cossard's findings (1970:353): '...poudre blanche à base de kaolin'.

4 I am informed by L. Hoggarth of the C.L.A.L.S., St. Andrews, that a similar sexual distinction is made by the Quechua in Cuzco, Peru, with regard to different mineral substances that make up the hampi. Cf. Pardal 1937:163.

See Lira (1946:83-84) who describes siwayru as: '...unos minerales en polvo que se consigue donde hay lagos. Es de dos clases: macho y hembra (orkkówan, chináwan)... La gente recoge a la quita quita, porque tienen fé que es un gran remedio, principalmente para el susto...' See also Lira (1960:41) where he mentions that these powders are to be found in twelve different colours.

Solid pemba is also made in different colours corresponding to each orixá.

Solid pemba is used particularly in Candomblé de caboclo cult houses, but it is also being used more frequently nowadays in more traditional houses. Its principal function is to draw marks on the body particularly during initiation, and during ceremonies such as the bori. In one bori ceremony performed by (C.1) witnessed in Cachoeira, solid white pemba was scraped with the sacrificial knife and the resulting powder made to fall first over the person's head, then over the whole body and finally over the sheet on which the person was sitting. It was then used to draw lines on the soles and upper parts of the feet. Binon Cossard mentions its use during the ceremony that takes place after the death of one of the filhas de santo in which the pai de santo uses it to draw a vertical line on his forehead and cheeks, a horizontal line on his eyelids and a cross on the palms of his hands⁵.

Its main use, however, in Candomblé de caboclo cult houses, is for curing, where it is used like chalk to draw certain cabbalistic signs on the floor inside which the curer or the patient stands while the ritual is being performed⁶. Examples of these signs and rituals are given below in Chapter X.

⁵ Binon Cossard 1970:245,249.

⁶ Cf. Ramos 1940:134: 'Utilizam-se ainda os macumbeiros do Rio de Janeiro da pemba, ou giz para riscar um ponto e traçar symbolos dos "santos"... ('People who practise Macumba in Rio de Janeiro still use pemba, a chalk for drawing the signs and symbols of the "saints"').

The notion of drawing some cabbalistic sign on the floor as an aid to the priest's power is a borrowing from Europe⁷ and such signs now play an extremely important role in Umbanda and Macumba, in the south of Brazil, particularly Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. Each santo or spirit is allocated his or her sign and the tracing of such a sign on the floor (ponto riscado) is believed to attract the spirit into the presence of the priest and his followers (R.1)⁸. The fact that solid pemba should be used to draw such signs may be based on the recommendations in early texts that only substances that have undergone rigorous ritual preparation are efficacious for any esoteric practice. Most Grimoires draw attention to the enormous importance attached to the ritual preparation of substances and tools that must take place before any esoteric ceremony as described in the Grimoire is undertaken. The Grimoire of Pope Honorius underlines the necessity of using coal and 'consecrated chalk' to draw the cabbalistic circle in which the sorcerer stands⁹ and it is not unlikely that detailed instructions such as these in early texts provide the origin of the use of solid pemba for the drawing of similar signs in Brazil.

7 Its origins are fundamentally Judaic. See Spence 1920: 240-242, and particularly Danzel 1947:157ff.

8 These signs are extremely complex and guides to them are readily available. See especially the publications on Umbanda by Editôra Eco, Rio de Janeiro.

9 See Waite 1911:286.

The authorship of this Grimoire is obscure - see Summers 1945:133; Butler 1949:89. It is attributed to Pope Honorius III (1216-1227).

(iii) Marketed varieties of pemba in powdered form

The other type of marketed pemba is always in powdered form and is sold in small packets measuring on average 1.5"x.75" x .25". Each packet states the purpose for which the contents should be used in the title: e.g. Dominio (Dominion): Chama Dinheiro (Money Caller); Vencedora de Batalha (Battle winner); Amarra Marido (Husband Bringer); Pega Homem (Man Getter); Pega Mulher (Wife Getter); Amansa Sogra (Mother-in-law sweetener). Some packets just bear the names of certain herbs that supposedly have gone towards their manufacture: e.g. Vence Tudo (Overcome Everything); Abre Caminhos (Open-the-Ways). However, analysis of such pembas revealed that their herbal content was minimal and that they were made up principally of kaolin with 0.67 per cent carbon and 0.14 per cent nitrogen.

A number of the packets are decorated with woodcuts (e.g. a dancing couple on Pega Homem, an angel on Pó da Felicidade [Happiness Powder]), but some of them are very curious and bear little relation to the function of the pemba in question. Amansa Sogra, for example, displays a picture of what appears to be a prostitute, while Pó de Separação (Separation Powder) shows a wise owl with a mortar board on its head.

Powdered forms of marketed pemba differ only very slightly in colour, the predominant colour being white. They also all have the same basic smell which is very similar to that of cheap talcum powder. In fact, they are

most commonly used as talcum powder, the idea being that the function inherent in the title will be sympathetically passed on to the wearer. Some varieties, however, require to come into physical contact with two or more people. Hence a man wanting to attract a woman must put some Pega Mulher on his hands and then endeavour to touch the woman he is interested in. A person wanting to increase his circle of friends does likewise with Amizade (Friendship), and so on (C.8).

Waite (1911:301) mentions a similar idea found in the Book of True Black Magic which advises the sorcerer who wants to conjure up a certain person at a given moment into his presence that '...a powder must be made and cast upon the person, or given them with their meat or drink'. Instructions given by the Grand Grimoire to make people appear naked and dance in one's presence involve the collection of certain herbs at midnight on the eve of the feast of St. John. These herbs are pounded into a powder which must then be sprinkled in the air of the room where the desired people are¹⁰.

(iv) The manufacture of marketed varieties of pemba

Marketed varieties of pemba of both forms all come from Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo or Porto Alegre, despite assurances on the packet that they are Africano Legítimo (Legitimate African) imported especially from Africa. The instruction leaflet for solid pemba shows pictures of pemba being made

¹⁰ Anon. (2) Eighteenth century: 99-100.

in a large cauldron by a number of Africans and another picture of the finished product being delivered to the market in Lagos, Africa do Sul (South Africa) (sic), and it ends with the following warning:

Comprar uma pomba falsa é alem de perder o dinheiro correr o risco de atraer mãos elementos ao usá-lo. Cuidado! Muito cuidado! Unico exportador para o mundo inteiro é Ali-Bem-Itah da Tribu Umbanda, descendente directo do Soba L-U-Thab.

(Buying a false pomba involves, besides losing your money, running the risk of attracting evil influences on using it. Care! Great care! The only exporter for the entire world is Ali-Bem-Itah of the Umbanda Tribe, a direct descendent of Soba L-U-Thab.)

On the packet, however, is stated quite clearly:

Fabricação especial da Livraria e Flora Olimpia Ltda. - Porto Alegre - Rio Grande do Sul.

(Specially made by the Livraria e Flora Olimpia Ltda. - Porto Alegre - Rio Grande do Sul.)

The packet also gives the number of the Brazilian patent. The powdered pomba called Separação says on one side that it is Legítimo Africano, and on the other E.E.U.U. (the accepted Brazilian abbreviation for Estados Unidos - United States).

Generally, marketed pomba of the powdered variety is used by private individuals without previous recommendation from higher authority, but they are also used a great deal by certain Candomblé de caboclo priests in curing rituals.

B.

(i) The preparation of home-made pemba

Home-made pemba, however, is always considered to be much superior to the marketed varieties in that all the ingredients are known and the quantities of each substance can be adjusted to suit the maker's wishes. To make pemba in the home, however, requires painstaking work on the part of the pai or mãe de santo who must devote long hours to reducing the ingredients to as fine a powder as the average talcum. This is one reason why marketed pembas are so popular and looked upon with considerably less suspicion than marketed fumigators or baths, the main reason perhaps being that the majority of marketed pembas, especially those of the solid varieties are believed to have come direct from Africa. It is significant in this respect that a number of recipes for home-made pemba include marketed white pemba of the solid variety among the ingredients.

Pemba that is made in the home is called pemba preparada to distinguish it from marketed varieties. Its main ingredients are herbs and seeds, but sometimes sugar, myrrh, incense and solid white marketed pemba are included. Complete individual recipes are jealously guarded since each person considers his recipe to be the most powerful and is very loath to part with any information concerning it. I was able, however, to collect the following three:

(I.2)

1

solid white pemba (marketed)
 sugar
angélica do sertão
capianga
dandá
murici
poejo
quitoco
tira teima
vencetudo

(C.5)

2

acoco
agua de Levante
dandá
 -preferably picked on the
 first Friday of Lent-

(C.2)

3

incense
 myrrh
 white talcum powder/solid pemba
alfazema
dandá
noz moscada
 cinnamon
 1 clove

The herbs employed must be dried in the sun although they may be dried artificially (i.e. in an oven) if the pemba is required urgently¹¹. When dry, all the ingredients must be crushed together in a mortar and passed repeatedly through a muslin cloth in order to acquire a fine powder.

Sometimes the white pemba (which belongs to Oxalá) can be exchanged for other solid pembas of different colours that belong to different orixás depending on the orixá who

¹¹ See above, 76.

happens to hold the most sway over the person in question. This is the only instance in the case of pemba where feelings for an individual's orixá may be taken into consideration, the normal course being to distribute precisely the same pemba to anyone in need of it.

The principal herbs among those in Appendix I that may be used for the manufacture of pemba preparada show a fairly even spread among all the orixás as the following table shows, with emphasis on Yemanjá and Oxun.

Orixá	No. of herbs controlled
Yemanjá	7
Oxun	6
Ogun	4
Yansan	4
Oxossi	2
Omolú	2
Naná	2
Oxalá	1
Xangô	1

This is a reflection of the notion that pemba summons the assistance of all the gods at the same time, it being up to the individual concerned to increase the reliance on one particular orixá if he so desires by the addition of the relevant solid pemba.

(ii) The ritual, prayers and chants accompanying the manufacture of home-made pemba

During the manufacture of pemba the person concerned must be ritually clean otherwise it will turn out to have no power at all. It is also necessary to accompany all stages

of its manufacture with prayers and incantations. The prayers are often of a spontaneous kind and follow no rigid outlines, and they take the form of an invocation to the gods (who are either the orixás or the three different members of the Catholic Trinity) to impart some of their power to the pemba currently being made. Two such prayers are as follows:

(I.2)

1

Com as forças de Deus e de todos
os orixás, com todas as forças
que Deus deixou no céu, terra,
mar e astro, eu peço a vós em
coro que façam desta pemba que
estou preparando um benefício
para mim e para todos que se
servirem com ela.

With the forces of God
and of all
the orixás, with all the
forces
which God left in heaven,
earth,
sea and star, I ask you all
that you make this pemba
which I am
preparing of benefit
to me and to all who may
make use of it.

(C.6)

2

Pemba, eu te preparo em nome
do Pai e do Filho e do Espírito
Santo para fazer o bem.

Pemba, I prepare you in
the name of
the Father, the Son and
the Holy
Ghost to do good.

The incantations accompanying the manufacture of pemba should number at least three (according to I.2) and should be repeated over and over again together with the prayer until the pemba is complete. Incantations are either of the type that are specifically designed to be used with pemba or they are borrowed from another ritual called ingolosi. The former varieties are transcribed below. The language is a mixture of Portuguese and a very corrupt and unidentifiable form of the language usually employed in traditional Angola cult houses:

(I.2)

3

O pemba
pemba de lei¹²
pemba

O pemba
pemba de lei
pemba

4

O que pembé
anda cá samba
samba d'Angola
O que pembé
manda pemba

O pemba
come here samba
Angola samba
O pemba
send pemba

5

Pemba era de lei
pembé
pemba

Pemba was de lei
pembé
pemba

Incolosi (known in Portuguese as rezas - prayers) is the name given to a session of formal sung prayer that takes place on specific days of the week in traditional cult houses in the presence of all the members of the priestly hierarchy and filhas de santo that live in the cult house. It is rather akin to the office said daily by Catholic priests and nuns¹³. The incantations sung are extremely secret and only one informant was prepared to let me have a sample of the ones she knew¹⁴. These are transcribed here and at least three of these may be sung during the preparation of pemba:

12 The caboclo Ogun can manifest himself under the name Ogun de lei, which according to Carneiro (1936:92) may be 'simples aférese de "Ogun de mãe"...' Pemba de lei may have derived in like manner from pemba de mãe. The post-fix de lei as transcribed above also has the sense of hallmarked or of acceptable quality as in prata de lei (hallmarked silver).

13 Cf. Binon Cossard 1970:168-169, 253.

14 On one occasion (C.4) remarked: 'Tudo que é de Candomblé pode ser que eu ensino - mas rezas, não.' (I may well teach everything about Candomblé, but not prayers).

(I.2)

6

Botei o meu joelho em terra
pedindo pelo amor de Deus
Oxalá tenha paciência, O Babá
malembe por esse orixá.

I put my knee on the
ground
asking for the love of God
Oxalá to have patience,
O Father
and mercy for this orixá.

The incantation is then repeated several times, substituting
in the place of Oxalá the names of different orixás.

7

Valei-me Mãe Senhora
a Senhora do rio fundo
Valei-me Mãe Senhora
pelo Salvador do mundo.

Help me my Mother
the Lady of the deep river
Help me my Mother
for the sake of the
Saviour of the world.

8

Tu malembe enfuna
Omolú pediu malembe no terreiro.

Your mercy is limitless
Omolú asked for mercy
in the cult house.

This incantation is also repeated several times, substituting
in the place of Omolú the names of different orixás.

9

O que malembe
de todo orixá.

O what mercy
from all the orixás.

10

O viva o rosário da Virgem Maria
desceu Deus do céu
o viva, o viva.

Long live the rosary
of the Virgin Mary
God came down from heaven
long may it live.

11

Levanta, vem a brincar
o menina
na mesa do Babá
o menina
toma bença até dos mais velhos

o menina
na mesa do Babá
o menina
toma bença até dos irmãos

o menina.

Get up, come and play
girl
at the table of the Father
girl
take the blessing of the
most elderly
girl
at the table of the Father
girl
take the blessing of the
brothers
girl.

The resulting penba is widely used not only as an important part of most curing rituals, but also in isolation. It is supposed to help one se desenvolver, i.e. like the banho de desenvolvimento it serves as a tonic, but its usual function is to protect the wearer from disease and all forms of the evil eye. It is common to take it by itself with hot water as a ritual bath and directly afterwards to dust it all over the body. Many pais and mães de santo include it as an important ingredient inside amulets (particularly breves or patuás: see below 181)¹⁵. It is also used a great deal after fumigating the house. A small heap is placed on the open palm of the right hand and it is then blown into every room to the accompaniment of three or more of the incantations given above (I.2).

¹⁵ Cf. Rodrigues (1935:90) - 'Isabel mostrou-me uns pós, preparados por ela, que, trazidos em amuletos ao pescoço ou mesmo no bolso, bastavam para garantir todas as felicidades'. (Isabel showed me some powders that had been made by her, which, when worn in amulets around the neck or even carried in the pocket, were sufficient to guarantee absolute happiness).

C.

(i) The preparation of Pemba de Exú

Pemba de Exú (Pemba of Exú) or pemba preta (black pemba) refers to a variety of pemba that may only be used for evil purposes. Again there are two types, one marketed (always of the solid variety) and the other home-made. An analysis of black marketed pemba revealed that it was made up mainly of kaolin with 5 per cent carbon and 2 per cent hydrogen, and a minimal quantity of organic material.

The use of the home-made variety is extremely widespread and many ills and misfortunes are attributed to it. During preparation it is treated with a great deal of care and respect because it is believed to be one of the most powerful ways of inflicting harm on others, and a stray grain could react against the person preparing it. Everything to do with the manufacture of pemba preta must at all times remain outside the house. The pestle and mortar used to pound the ingredients into a powder, including the spoon used to transfer the ingredients into bottles must only ever be used for pemba preta. Nothing that has touched it can be used for anything else, nor may anything that has been in contact with it be brought into the house. People who have used it must eliminate all traces of it from their hands by rubbing their hands with a freshly picked leaf, taking care to leave the leaf in the gutter or a drain (I.2, C.2, C.5, C.6). After this, on entering their houses they must sprinkle sugar (left in advance at the front door) in every room and then

undertake the ritual known as o despacho da porta. This involves throwing the contents of a glass of water in three directions just outside the front door (I.2). It is a curious ritual that may be linked to the purifying power of water but it is more likely to take the form of an offering of a drink to Exú, the guardian of all entrances, so that he will prevent any evil force coming into the house after the occupant has been using pemba preta. Offerings to Exú in order to prevent mishaps occurring are very common and are given before most rituals so as to ensure the smooth running of the ceremony. They are known as the pade de Exú¹⁶, translated into Portuguese as despacho de Exú and this may be the main idea behind the ritual o despacho da porta.

Details concerning the manufacture of black pemba are kept very secret since each individual believes he has the all-powerful recipe and is extremely wary of passing it on to others because of a fear that it may ultimately be used against himself. Moreover, informants are often embarrassed when asked to expand on the details concerning black pemba since they feel that they might be giving the impression that they dabble too much in 'black' i.e. evil, ritual practices. They are, however, always very careful to point out how important it is for them to know the workings of 'black' practices so that they can operate against them for the good of their patients. Conversations concerning black pemba

¹⁶ For the pade de Exú see above, 88 note 7. Street sellers of acarajé (fried maize cake) always make 3 small acarajés for Exú before cooking the rest. See photograph No. 5. Cf. Lima 1946:27.

or 'black' ritual acts of any kind are always hurried and informants do not like to expand too much. One informant (C.2) insisted on talking about black pemba outside in the yard and not in his house through fear that some evil might come of it.

Ingredients for pemba preta tend to include things that are normally associated with uncleanness (e.g. horse droppings, nicotine) and death (e.g. cemetery dirt), but it must also contain certain herbs, fruits and animals that come directly under the control of Exú, because Exú, when invoked in the correct way, can undertake acts of evil against other people.

Recipes I managed to collect are as follows:

(I.2)

1

black marketed pemba (solid)
pimenta da Costa
pimenta mala ueta } (hot peppers of the chili type).
horse droppings
cansação
corredeira
nettle
ash
salt
toad (dried then powdered)
cemetery dirt

(C.2)

2

corredeira
louco branco
pimenta da Costa
pimenta mala ueta
ants' nest earth
cemetery dirt

(C.5)

3

toad
human bone
humming bird
(black)

(these are stored in alcohol until Holy Week and then are toasted in a dish over a fire all at once. Then they are reduced to a fine powder in a pestle and mortar).

(C.5)

4

toad dried and reduced to a fine powder

(C.6)

5

manganga wasp¹⁷
dragon fly
chameleon
bat
toad's skin
locust
liquid nicotine that accumulates in a pipe
dung beetle¹⁸
spider crab
scorpion
lizard
hair of black cat
hair of a vixen
dirt from the grave of a sorcerer
dust from a night¹⁹ club
7 Urubú feathers
Dust from 7 crossroads
7 pimentas da Costa
1 human bone
1 live snake

All these ingredients are toasted in a new earthenware pot which must afterwards be broken and included in the pemba.

- 17 manganga: from the Tupi mang-ã-caba (wasp of high flight with a sting that produces fever).
- 18 A comparison may be drawn here between the dung beetle that comes under the control of Exú who brought fire and the sun (see above, 99), and the Egyptian scarab beetle which lays its egg in dung and then rolls it into a ball and pushes it into the sun. The ancient Egyptians associated this beetle with the god of creation and its egg-ball with the sun. The sun-god was called 'Roller' because he rolled the sun across the sky. See Wallis Budge 1930:135-136.
- 19 A large black bird that feeds on carrion; Cathartes foetens, C. (C.A.).

(C.1)

6

A certain lizard²⁰ lays its egg inside the bark of jasmim do Plario. When the egg hatches the bark splits and the baby lizard emerges. The lizard, if grated during the months of May or June, can be used by itself as pomba preta.

Recipes 1, 2 and 5 contain peppers of different varieties. These, mainly because of the heat they produce in the mouth on being eaten, belong to Exú. Peppers must at all times be treated with a great deal of care because it is believed that if they are bruised or fall to the ground inside the house Exú will become angry and cause arguments and internal family disputes to break out²¹.

Plants and insects that sting are associated with Exú and hence are included among the ingredients. The mud-walls of the insects' nests are also included in this category²².

- 20 Type unknown. A powder to do evil made from a lizard is mentioned by Vasconcellos (1960:II, 105-106) who quotes the following variants from the Romanceiro:XL: Veneno de Lorian
- Que fizeste ao teu vinho - que me fez tanto mal?
 - Deitei-lhe cobrinhas novas - pós de lagarto real. (no.535) and
 - Qu'ê que lhe deitaste ã vinho - que me fez tanto mal?
 - Botei-lhe sangue de víbora, - pó de lagarto moído. (no.538).
- 21 Cf. Querino 1938:88. See also João do Rio 1906:31 - a pepper attached with black thread to a piece of paper bearing the name of the person involved and thrown into the fire will break that person's marriage.
- 22 The actual nest plays an important role in sorcery in that it is common for the sorcerer to place a piece of the intended victim's clothing inside a termite's nest, for example, and expect his victim to deteriorate at the same time as the cloth.

Dragonflies (recipe No. 5) are most probably only included because in Portuguese they are known as cavalos do cão (horses of the dog, i.e. devil)²³. Sometimes it is sufficient for the animal simply to be black to qualify for inclusion among the ingredients (e.g. No. 3, black humming bird), however the urubú, which is also black, is most probably included mainly because it lives off carrion. The toad and the frog occur very commonly in European witchcraft²⁴ and Pardal mentions the use of the toad in sorcery by Indians of the Tupi stock²⁵.

In recipe 5 it is important that all the insects/ animals mentioned should be toasted alive over the fire together with all the other ingredients. The fire itself should be kindled with twigs from bushes and plants that come under the control of Exú and the person preparing the pemba should take care to sit in such a way that the smoke from the fire does not blow over him otherwise he may become contaminated.

Black pemba should be made on a Friday at midnight and preferably at a crossroads. Directly after its preparation it should be bottled and buried for seven days before use.

- 23 Barroso 1923:284-285 makes a comparison with the Japanese word for dragonfly. He quotes Lafcadio Hearn, Kottô, French translation by Joseph de Smet, Ed. Mercure de France, Paris 1912:182: '...Les libellules sont les chevaux des morts'.
- 24 Taboada 1947:46, 1959:297; Amades 1951:111; Hildburgh 1951:244; but see especially Thomas 1971:446, 517, 524, 547.
- 25 Pardal 1937:94. For the use of the toad in sorcery in Brazil, see Cabral 1942:268-269; Querino 1938:87.

- (ii) The ritual, prayers and chants accompanying the manufacture of pemba de Exú

Incantations and prayers must also accompany the preparation of black pemba, the incantations being those normally sung during the pade de Exú at the commencement of a Candomblé festival²⁶. I was able to obtain the following prayer said during the preparation of black pemba:

(c.6)

1

Pemba preta, eu te torro
em nome do Diabo
pelos poderes de Satanás
e Farrabás²⁷
e o principe Boizebú²⁸
e Maria Padrilha²⁹
e toda sua familia .

Black pemba, I toast you
In the name of the Devil
By the power of Satanás
and Farrabás
and the prince Boizebú
and Maria Padrilha
and all the family.

Prayers, usually of a spontaneous nature, stating the desired effects of the pemba, are generally said at the commencement of any evil ritual act. The following prayer, for example, was employed when it was desired to bring evil on a certain family:

²⁶ For incantations to Exú, see Verger 1957:126-140.

²⁷ A corruption of Fierabras (Chanson de Geste of the Charlemagne Cycle - late 12th, early 13th centuries). Fierabras is a giant and the son of the Saracen king Balant. His name is associated with all that is powerful. Don Quijote, for example, (Part I Ch. XVII) is fortified with '...el bálsamo de Fierabrás y..con aquel remedio podía acometer desde allí adelante, sin temor alguno, cualesquiera ruinas, batallas y pendencias, por peligrosas que fuesen'. For the Portuguese, Ferrabraz has been almost synonymous with nouro: see Barroso (1949:31), who transcribes Auto dos Pandangos dating from the eighteenth century in which one of the characters is Ferrabraz, ambassador from Mauritania. In Brazil Farrabás or Ferrabraz has subsequently become a synonym for Satan.

²⁸ Beelzebub.

²⁹ Maria Padrilha is one of the names given to Exú outside traditional Candomblé.

(C.6)

2

Assim como esta pemba preta
tem vinte uma mixtura (sic),
os vinte um Exús das vinte
uma encrucilhada (sic),
tomem conta desta casa³⁸.

Just as this black pemba
has twenty one ingredients,
the twenty one Exús of the
twenty
one crossroads
take over this house.

accompanied by the action of blowing the pemba through the keyhole. Similar prayers would be said on placing pemba on the palm of the hand as already described and blowing it over objects or areas associated with the person on whom it was desired to bring misfortune.

The idea of blowing maleficent powder in order to produce ruin dates back certainly as far as the witchcraft trials of the late sixteenth century in Europe, as the following passage from Rény (1595 1st ed. 1930:67) shows:

Alexia Violaëa bore witness that, after running here and there like the Bacchantes with her companions, she used to scatter in the air a fine powder given to her by the Demon for that purpose; and that from this were generated caterpillars, bruchuses, locusts, and such pests of the crops in such numbers that the fields on all sides were at once covered with them.

Apart from being blown in the air, pemba may also be used to write the name of an enemy on a piece of paper which is subsequently burned. It is also used as an essential ingredient in mixtures of specific components used in evil practices (C.2). This too has clear European antecedents as may be seen in the Arcipreste de Hita's Libro de Buen Amor (440):

30 This is probably derived from traditional African belief that Exú's kingdom has either 7, 14 or 21 roads crossing it. (See Bastide 1961:223). In Candomblé de caboclo this may have been transmogrified into a belief that there are 21 different Exús controlling these roads. The recipe given by (C.6) (see 5 above) contains 21 ingredients.

Toma de unas viejas, que se fasan erveras,
 Andan de casa en casa e llámanse parteras;
 Con polvos é afeytes é con alcoholeras,
 Echan la moça en ojo é çiegan bien de veras .
 (She takes into her service old women who parade as
 herbalists,
 They go from house to house calling themselves midwives;
 With powders, pomades and antimony,
 They put the evil eye on the girl and render her totally
 blind).

In Brazil black pemba may be sewn into a toad's mouth
 together with the victim's name or photograph; the toad is
 then subjected to whatever treatment the sorcerer wishes
 his victim to undergo (C.2).

Sacrifices may be made to Exú for the specific purpose
 of his doing evil, at a crossroads, within the confines of
 a ponto riscado drawn with black pemba (C.2, C.5). All
 crossroads come under the control of Exú but some are
 considered to be more propitious than others for sacrificial
 ends and it is common for a crossroads to be referred to as
 'uma encruzilhada boa que tem um Exú bom' (a good crossroads
 that has a good Exú) (C.2)³¹.

31 See photographs Nos. 17 and 18.

CHAPTER VIIIAMULETS

A.

Introductory remarks concerning the use of Amulets

Amulets in Brazil may be worn as a means of protection in three areas: against the evil eye and the ill wind; against illnesses in particular or in general; against accidental and unforeseen occurrences. Most amulets, however, are manufactured and worn in order to protect the wearer against the perils of the evil eye and the ill wind which, as we shall see in the next chapter, are fairly elastic terms which can be stretched to include most other forms of indisposition. An amulet can be manufactured and worn for the specific purpose of guarding against a particular misfortune but it is much more common for one amulet to be worn as a means of protection against general misfortune.

Amulets designed to give protection against general misfortune are generally considered less powerful than amulets consecrated for that specific purpose, though the efficacy of the latter is usually limited to the stated purpose. If the maker concentrates on the future owner's specific requirements while making the amulet, then that amulet will be rendered the more powerful an instrument in safeguarding its future owner (I.2 and passim)¹. One specific type of amulet, therefore, may be consecrated by different makers for different purposes. Hence a figa² may be worn to ensure easy

1 Cf. Gardner 1942:102.

2 An amulet carved in the shape of a clenched fist with the thumb clasped between the fore and middle fingers.

delivery of a child. After the birth it may be discarded in favour of another figa, specially consecrated to make it more suited to the needs of a nursing mother and that would, for example, guarantee a ready flow of breast milk during the first weeks after the birth of the child.

The amulet in Brazil is usually worn around the wrist or the neck on a string or chain so that it is near the pulse or heart³, and its main function as a means of protection is rather akin to that of a lightning conductor. It attracts the force which, once attracted, is rendered completely harmless and therefore the wearer of the amulet remains protected⁴. Sometimes the force of evil attracted into the amulet is so great that the amulet breaks though informants stress that this is rare. There is however a reference to such a mishap actually happening to a figa in a Portuguese ballad:

Olha o demo⁵ da Mulher

Os olhos que me deitou!
Fiquei-me logo a treger,
E vai a figa quebrou.

Look at that devil of a woman

The eyes that she put upon me!
I immediately began to tremble,
And then the figa broke.

3 Cf. Wallis Budge 1930:29.

4 Cf. Hardie (1923:163): '...their main purpose is apparently to divert to themselves the attention of any possible overlooker... The amulets, in short, are a species of lightning conductor, just as the power of overlooking is thought popularly to be a kind of electricity which resides in the eye'.

5 Abbreviated form of demonio (devil).

6 Pires de Lima quoted by Câmara Cascudo 1951:72.
Cf. Gardner 1942:97; MacLagan 1902 1st ed. 1972:42;
Hildburgh 1908:217-218, 1951:244-245.

Traditionally, great importance was attached to the quality of the substance out of which amulets were made mainly for the reason that poor quality substances would not be able to withstand powerful forces of evil and the wearer might as a result be exposed to danger. Jet has always been considered a highly apt substance for the manufacture of amulets in Europe and particularly in Spain and Portugal⁷ and it is much sought after today by Brazilian curandeiros. In the past, however, distinctions could be made between the varying qualities of jet to be found in the Iberian peninsula based on its ability or inability to withstand powerful forces. A document from the municipal archives of Santiago, dated 1581, praises jet found in Asturias while it condemns the jet from Monte Alban and Portugal which shows a marked tendency to break:⁸

...en Monte Alban y en el rreino de Portugal ay mucha cantidad de acebache falsa, e por ser tal como es se llama muerta e falsa, porque no sufre en si callentura, ni ayre ninguno, y hiende y se quebranta al sol y al aire, e no tiene la fuerza que tiene el acebache de Asturias fina, que biene del principiado de Asturias, la cual sufre el aire e sol,...lo cual no hace la de Monte Alban, ni la de Portugal...

7 See Vasconcellos 1892:8, 1925:28, 61, 65; Wallis Budge 1930:316-317.

8 Transcribed in USMA 1916:162.
Cf. Castillo de Lucas 1958:56.

9 Cf. Hornell (1924:272) who mentions the custom in Trinidad of hanging jet beads around a child's wrist. If one of the beads breaks at any time it is believed that the evil influence has passed into the bead. See also Vasconcellos 1925:65. Gifford (1958:78) quotes Gutiérrez, a Spanish physician, who in 1653 described a jet cross worn by his son to absorb malignant forces and which ultimately split.

(...in Monte Alban and in the Kingdom of Portugal there is a great deal of false jet, and being such, it is called dead and false, for it cannot withstand heat or wind; it rends and breaks on exposure to sun and wind and has not the strength of the fine Asturian jet, which comes from the principality of Asturias and which withstands wind and sun, unlike that of Monte Alban and of Portugal...)

The same document goes on to describe how the use of jet was very strictly controlled by the authorities who went to great pains only to allow high quality jet to be employed because:

...si ansi no se hiciesse...no conocieran qual hes la fina o la muerta, e por esta causa se podia passar y aver gran fraude y engano para las personas e Romeros que comprasen la tal acebache porque les quebrantaría muy facilmente...

(...if this were not done...people would not know which was the fine variety or the dead one, and there could therefore be a great deal of fraud and deception practised on people and pilgrims who bought such jet, for it would soon break up...)

We may divide Brazilian amulets into two broad categories:

- B. objects of specific shape, substance or smell: the fiso, animal teeth/horns, cowrie shells, garlic, pentangle, rings, herbs, nuts and seeds which will be termed 'simple' amulets.
- C. patuás and breves which will be termed 'complex' amulets.

B.

(i) Figa

Perhaps the most common amulet of all mentioned in this category is the figa. The figa is usually of the left hand though I have seen it of the right hand on occasions. Some sources believe that the right-handed figa is more ancient than the left-handed one, but the left-handed figa is certainly the more common of the two nowadays¹⁰.

In Galicia it is still common when a person meets a hunchback (believed to be a source of the evil eye) to make a figa with one of the hands and say:

Pão na mão
Pão na cesta
Arre burro
Leva esta. (G.1)

Bread in the hand
Bread in the basket
Gee up donkey
Take this away.

Valle (1963:598-599) transcribes an identical rhyme from Portugal. The rhyme itself is mostly gibberish but this in itself is considered a powerful way of repelling forces of evil and it is rendered even more powerful with the addition of the figa gesture. Recitation of a ritual formula accompanied by the figa gesture when coming across an enemy has been recorded in Northeast Brazil by Gomes (1951:190), the words in this instance being:

Figa de defunto
em tua intenção...

Dead man's figa
to you...

10 The fourth edition of the Diccionario de Autoridades de la Lengua Castellana (1803) describes higa as '...la mano derecha cortada al topo...'. Quoted by CERA 1916:27, which gives illustrations of right-handed figas (21, 23). An illustration of a right-handed figa from Egypt is given by Wallis Budge 1930:172. See also Hausmann & Kriss-Rettenbeck 1966:199.

Making the figa gesture with the hands and reciting such formulae, however, is not at all common now, it being considerably more usual simply to wear a carved figa round the neck or wrist. Street vendors usually either wear a figa or stand a large one up on their trays in order to protect their goods from the evil eye and to ensure good sales throughout the day¹¹.

The substances out of which a figa may be made vary enormously. Ideally the strongest figas are made of jet as already mentioned but this is very rarely found in Brazil and never found for sale in markets. Jacarandá wood is extremely popular for the manufacture of figas perhaps because it is often almost black in colour, very hard, and can bear a close resemblance to jet. Nowadays more and more figas are found made of different coloured plastics or glass, the colours usually being those associated with the principal orixás. Curandeiros however, spurn such materials and advise patients to buy or have made figas with guiné wood or arruda. Both these plants are widely used in Brazil for repelling the evil eye and for curing in general and the leaves are among the most popular in the ritual that accompanies the recitation of a curing prayer (reza)¹², hence it is understandable why the wood should be

11 Cf. Vasconcellos (1925:66) who mentions a similar practice in Portugal in order to attract custom.

12 Vianna Filho 1946:120; Lima 1946:88; Hoehne 1939:112-113.

considered adequate material for the manufacture of figas¹³.

Shakespeare uses the word 'fig' as a term of derision¹⁴ while phrases such as fazer figa or dar figa in Portugal have in the past been derogatory¹⁵. The figa gesture is considered obscene in a number of countries, particularly in Germany (where it may be employed to indicate a prostitute), Greece, Norway¹⁶ and Persia. This strong link with Eros and the obscene no doubt stems from the figa's clear representation of coition, and the reason for its use as a device to protect against forces of evil lies in its obscene nature.

The obscene and the grotesque are associated with the idea of protection from evil in a number of cultures. Certainly Exú, who protects and guards all entrances, and particularly the orifices of the body through which evil could penetrate, is represented by a mud phallus often standing

13 Correa (1969:I, 180) and Câmara Cascudo (1951:71) mention the use of arruda for the manufacture of figas in Brazil. See also Bastide (1961:165) and Cunha (1941:42), who both mention the use of guiné for the manufacture of amulets. Maynard Araújo (1961:72-73) mentions that the most powerful form of figa is that made of guiné on a Friday. Costa (1907:108) says that tipim (guiné) is the best material for figas.

14 See particularly Othello I, iii:
'Virtue! a fig! 'tis in ourselves that we are thus or thus'

Henry IV, part II, V, iii:

'When Pistol lies, do this; and fig me, like the bragging Spaniard'.

15 Vasconcellos 1925:42-57.

16 Ibid. 81-83.

in a bowl of dendê oil, or by a metal statue with an enormously accentuated phallus (this is particularly the case in Rio de Janeiro). The obscene and the grotesque are also traditional motifs in mediaeval Christian architecture, their main function being to protect the building and its occupants from the works of the Devil.

Welsford, in a discussion of the possible origins of the institution of the court-fool, refers to attempts to ascertain

the date, origin and significance of certain small bronze and terra-cotta figures representing grotesques of various kinds: hunchbacks, pygmies, dwarfs, negroes, living skeletons, caricatures of ordinary men and women, who are usually represented as bald, or idiotic or with an exaggerated phallus.

She goes on to quote Professor Wace's article,

'Grotesques and the Evil Eye' in which he points out that:

the workmanship of the bronzes is usually of the Imperial period.....some may be intended not as portraits but as mascots.

Such images seem to have been popular all over the Graeco-Roman world, no doubt for the purpose referred to by Welsford, who states that

The possession of a hunchback, a bald head, or any striking deformity, is a good safeguard against this malignant influence (the evil eye)¹⁷ presumably because such misfortunes render one too wretched to excite either human or divine envy. (Welsford 1968:61).

However, fundamental to the notion of protecting from evil with representations of the obscene is the added dimension of the obscene gesture or object being a symbol of fertility. The fact that forces of evil, and particularly

¹⁷ By italics and note.

the force normally associated with the evil eye, can be repelled by such fertility symbols stems from the belief that infertility in all its forms (i.e. sterility in humans and animals, crop failures and so on) comes as a result of the power of the evil eye¹⁸. The best method of defence is a representation of a human sexual organ, or, better still, coition, that will serve to protect the subject's fertility from the damaging effects of the eye.

The term 'fertility' need not only be associated with offspring or crops in that all transformations that take place may be looked upon as being the result of the union of fundamental sources of energy and it is the moment when transformation takes place that is considered the most dangerous. Little children and young animals are particularly prone to danger¹⁹ not so much because they are in a peculiarly defenceless state but because they are in the process of growing. In Brazil, a premature halt in the steady physical development of an infant is considered to be the work of the evil eye (C.2 and passim). Similarly, prolonged yawning fits, sleeplessness and continued crying in children are looked upon as being interruptions in the normal growing-up process caused by an evil eye. Other sources have quoted other instances when the evil eye may function at the moment

18 In Bahia the plants avenca and macacá are believed to wilt if a victim of the evil eye goes near them or even looks at them (C.1, C.5, S.6). Cf. Hildburgh 1942:187.

19 This point has been stressed by numerous writers. See particularly Câmara Cascudo 1951:72; Vasconcellos 1925: 20, 57-58; MacLagan 1902 1st ed. 1972:4, 43; Hardie 1923:161; Freyre 1946:143. N.B. also Isaiah (xiii.18) 'their eye shall not spare children'.

when some form of transformation is taking place²⁰.

(ii) Animal teeth/horns

A large majority of the amulets in this category are at base symbols of fertility and as such are effective in repelling forces of evil. It is true that certain objects such as a horn or a tooth when used by themselves as amulets impart the function they once possessed (defence) to the new owner, thereby protecting him from outside influences, but their further significance as fertility symbols must not be overlooked²¹. Horns and horn shapes have traditionally been associated with virility and the energy behind reproduction²². In Italy it is common to wear sprigs of red coral (that resemble horns) as amulets to protect against the evil eye²³, and Hausmann and Kriss-Rettenbeck (1966:200) give an illustration of one such amulet with the majority of its individual branches ending in a carved figa.

- 20 This is the case during initiation rites when the neophyte is seen to be particularly exposed to danger on account of the fundamental change in his or her status that is taking place. Hence the complex rituals that must be performed. The blacksmith and the alchemist as Eliade (1962:31, 102, 151) has pointed out, complete the process of creation by changing the status of metals and ores, but before commencing work they should undertake a whole series of rituals which will guarantee success. MacLagan (1902 1st ed. 1972:72, 73, 78) gives 3 instances of failure to produce good butter when churning on account of the restricting forces of an evil eye.
- 21 See the photograph of a tooth worn as an amulet in Bahia (No. 6). Cf. Cabral 1942:266; Taboada 1959:299; Risco 1961:82. Borrow (1841:I, 146) mentions the custom in Spain of children wearing a small horn tipped with silver.
- 22 See particularly Câmara Cascudo 1951:72; Silva 1926:11; Gouveia 1926:47-48.
- 23 Hildburgh 1908:217-218.

The whole notion behind the crescent shape of the new moon (also a horn shape) is that it represents the beginning of a period of growth when the moon is endowed with all the power that links it to the movement of the tides, the female menses, the qualities of herbs and so on. A curved tooth in isolation may protect because it is pointed and used to belong to a ferocious animal, but if it is joined with a similar tooth it takes on the shape of the crescent moon and/or a pair of horns and becomes doubly powerful as a tool of protection (C.5)²⁴.

(iii) Cowrie shells

Cowrie shells as well (known in Brazil as búzios) are endowed with a power to protect the wearer against the forces of the evil eye. They are not only common in Africa and Brazil as amulets but also in Europe where they are used as instruments of protection against forces of evil²⁵. In Africa and in most Afro-Brazilian religions cowrie shells are employed in an important system of divination and as such are looked upon as being endowed with special power²⁶.

24 Cf. Vasconcellos 1892:9, 1925:39.

25 See Rolleston 1943:292-293; Vasconcellos 1925:92.

26 For explanations of the system of divination with cowrie shells, see Eastide 1961:139ff.; Carneiro 1961:149-150; Frobenius 1973:183-191. For use of cowrie shells in Brazil in general see Câmara Cascudo 1962:I, 146-147. Cult priests are able to distinguish between African and Brazilian cowrie shells, the former being considered much superior (C.5).

Their effectiveness as amulets may be linked to the strong resemblance which they bear to the vulva. Moreover, the shape of the shell and the slit in it can also be likened to a half-closed eye which in itself would be sufficient to ward off any evil glances²⁷. Certainly the eye and the vulva are similar both in shape and in their common function as symbolic instruments of protection. Loewenthal, writing in 1972 (832), says that 'until recently' female genitalia were portrayed in ornamental brass door knockers at the north entrance of Toledo cathedral, thus reinforcing the doorway which is the weakest point of defence. Amulets and talismans with the human eye incorporated in them have been and still are employed as means of protection²⁸.

But if the vulva can protect it can also harm, as pointed out by Gifford (1958:142-143) who mentions a sixteenth century Arabian manuscript that contains a warning that looking into the cavity of the vagina may be injurious to the eye. This dual nature of the female genitalia whereby they can protect or harm may be linked in some way with the widely held belief that a person with the power of overlooking also has the power to cure. The eye that harms is also the eye that can bring relief²⁹.

27 See Hildburgh 1942:178-179.

28 See Wallis Budge 1930:91, 141-142.

29 MacLagan 1902 1st ed. 1972:19, 98-100; Castillo de Lucas 1958:56; Gifford 1958:65-66.

(iv) Garlic

Garlic is also ascribed qualities that link it to one or other of the two sexes in that in Brazil a distinction is made between male garlic (alho macho) and female garlic (alho fêmeo), male garlic being long and thin and female garlic squat and rounded³⁰. The sexual symbolism here is clear but in the case of garlic it is only the alho macho which is used as a means of protection against the eye. A small clove is hidden behind the ear or included among the contents of a patua³¹.

(v) Pentangles³²

Other amulets in this category do not have sexual connotations but are employed to ward off evil by other means. The pentangle is very common in Brazil both as an amulet which is worn on a chain or stamped on to other amulets (thereby reinforcing them) such as the base part of a figa³³. It is also commonly found on the outside of the front door of dwelling houses³⁴ and forms the basis for most cabbalistic signs drawn on the floor during certain

30 A similar distinction, for the same reasons, is made with onions.

31 Vasconcellos (1925:22) mentions the custom in Portugal of carrying garlic in the pocket to protect against the evil eye.

32 For possible origins of the pentangle see Wallis Budge 1930:40,233; Bouisson 1960:140-141.

33 Cf. Vasconcellos 1892:5; Querino 1938:118-119; Ramos 1940:83.

34 See also Andrade 1963:136; Maynard Araújo 1958:88. I have also seen it painted on fishing boats in Galicia and North Portugal.

curing rituals³⁵.

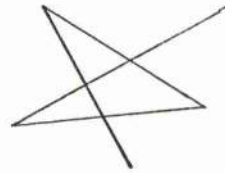
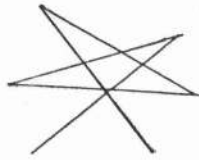
Its widespread use as an instrument of protection is based on the fact that it embodies the efficiency of both the circle and the triangle either in protecting the person who stands in the middle of it or imprisoning the devil within it so that he cannot escape to do harm to others. Risco (1961:80) quotes the legend in which Solomon was believed by the Arabs to have absolute power over both inferior and superior spirits who adored him and obeyed the sign. Those that revolted against him he imprisoned in pitchers sealed with his seal³⁶. The pentangle's power resides in its five equal angles³⁷, the pentagram contained at its centre and the fact that such a sign can be made in one movement without lifting the pencil from the paper. As soon as one of the angles is broken the star not only loses its power to protect but becomes an instrument with which the sorcerer may do evil. Waite (1911:85, plate V) gives a number of signs from the so-called Fourth Book of Cornelius Agrippa that represent the characters of evil spirits.

35 See below, Chapter X, especially 271. Cf. Andrade (1963:122), who mentions drawing a pentangle on the floor at the start of a ritual to break up a love affair. There is a vast literature on the Cabbal. Spence (1920) summarises the principal points.

36 Cf. Waite (1911:101), quoting from the Grand Grimoire, mentions how Solomon forced all spirits to obey him by the power of his Talisman. The Gnostics believed Solomon's seal worked miracles - see Wallis Budge 1930:203.

37 The No. 5 is endowed with special qualities. For number symbolism in general, see Hopper 1938; Butler 1970.

Figures 5 and 6 (reproduced here) are particularly significant in that they are versions of the regular pentangle that invite evil forces to enter.



The power of the regular pentangle resides particularly in each of the five angles. A common cure for snake-bite, for example, consists of drawing a pentangle on the ground and taking a handful of earth from each of its five points. The earth is then mixed with water and given to the patient to drink (C.2)³⁸. Sometimes it suffices to draw a pentangle over the affected area (C.2, C.5)³⁹. In Cachoeira when transplanting a root of the lança de Oxalá a pentangle should first be drawn on the earth and then the root planted in the middle. It is believed that a new shoot will ultimately appear at the tip of each of the five points (C.5).

38 Cf. Teixeira 1954:33.

39 Ibid.:22. See also Nagalhães (1966:205-206) who quotes Pedro Sampaio's A Medicina no Ceará p. 367; Maynard Araújo 1958:140.

The widespread use of the pentangle in Brazil stems particularly from the popularity it already enjoyed in Europe at the time of colonisation and the fact that the Malé who went over to Brazil as slaves at the time of colonisation had already been given it by the Arabs as an instrument of defence⁴⁰. However, one of the reasons for its popularity among Candomblé de caboclo followers may be its similarity with the starfish which has come to be adopted as an emblem for Yemanjá, the goddess of salt water (C.12, S.7).

(vi) Rings⁴¹

Nickel steel rings are also very commonly worn mainly to ward off disease, but if placed in the window inside a glass of water the ring will protect the occupants of the house from the evil wind (see below, 242 ff.) (C.6, C.11, C.15). These rings appear to find their origin in Europe, and it is possible that their alleged powers of healing are linked to the fact that they are made of metal⁴². Metal is ascribed great powers in folk medicine mainly because as Eliade (1962:99) points out, there is a close connection between the art of the smith and the art of the shaman who heals. In the same way as the smith can transform ore into metals, so can the shaman transform illness into health.

Hildburgh (1940:246) mentions how rings that have been rubbed against the Caravaca cross protect the wearer

⁴⁰ See Querino 1938:118-119; Ramos 1940:83.

⁴¹ For the ring amulet see Wallis Budge 1930:291-305.

⁴² Cf. Vasconcellos 1892:8.

from illness. Other writers mention the use of the ring in Europe as an amulet that protects against toothache (M'Clintock 1912:477), epilepsy (McKenzie 1927:200), paralysis, rheumatism, cramp, gout (Black 1883:172-177) and the plague (Thomas 1971:189). Rings worn in the ears cure weak or unhealthy eyes in Scotland (MacLagan 1902 1st ed. 1972:134; Gifford 1958:87). A steel ring also serves to protect from evil forces. Vasconcellos (1882:101) records how steel rings are worn in Beira Alta to protect against witchcraft, those made on Maundy Thursday being particularly effective, while Hildburgh (1908:221) mentions the use of steel rings as amulets in Portugal to guard against the evil wind. Loewenthal (1972:33) gives an illustration of a Mediterranean belt buckle consisting of a hand with a ring on the little finger that served to protect the owner from evil.

In Brazil, nickel steel rings are commonly available in markets with a wide variety of different cabbalistic signs imprinted on the broad face of the ring. The signs may vary from a pentangle to a series of dots which are usually of an odd number and displayed in the same order as the different symbols representing the four suits on playing cards. Such rings may be worn as a general protection against all forms of illness but they are considered particularly effective to combat an illness known popularly as maniconia (C.6, C.11). This is a type of rash that manifests itself in the form of black patches

appearing on the skin usually after the person concerned has been tense, nervous or angry. It is believed that if the patches appear over the heart, the patient is bound to die. Brazilian doctors I spoke to were unanimous in saying that maniconia was not an isolated illness but that the term could have been chosen to refer to the patches that remain on the skin after certain varieties of syphilis⁴³.

(vii) Herbs, nuts and seeds

Herbs, nuts and seeds may also be employed in the manner of amulets in order to protect the wearer from evil. Three leaves of guiné or arruda⁴⁴ are sometimes worn behind the ear as a means of protection, and it is very common to see espada de Ogun, espada de Oxossi, pinhão roxo or vassourinha de Nossa Senhora on the trays of street vendors. Sometimes the leaves are so arranged as to make a cross and this is believed to render the leaves more powerful⁴⁵. Nutmeg and umburana worn on a string round the neck protects one against the evil wind and the fruta de São Cipriano collected in the proper ritual fashion may be worn round the neck in the same way. Other nuts/seeds which may be employed in the same way are favico, bejerecum, fruta da ciência (or tontica)⁴⁶.

43 This is by no means certain, however, and it is stressed that the foregoing was only a theory put forward by certain Brazilian doctors. Curandeiros saw no link between maniconia and syphilis.

44 Cf. Cabral 1942:266.

45 See photograph of crossed espada de Ogun and espada de Oxossi at the entrance to a brothel in Cachoeira (No. 2).

46 For information on herbs carried as amulets by South American Indians see Safford 1917, particularly 424.

C.

(i) The nature of the 'complex' amulet

The type of amulet that comes into this category is known by two names:

- (a) patuá, which is from the Tupi patiguá meaning hammock, basket or small box⁴⁷. It has now come to mean a small leather or cloth bag.
- (b) breve which is from the Portuguese meaning brief. The term is now used to describe a small bag containing a brief prayer⁴⁸.

Patuá and breve are now synonymous terms used to describe a small bag worn round the neck and supposedly containing a brief prayer or charm and other ingredients especially chosen to ward off the evil eye or to protect the wearer from an indisposition actually mentioned in the prayer⁴⁹. They can be readily purchased in markets but those made specifically for an individual are considered to be much more efficient.

Incorporated in the patuá is the same notion as underlies the 'medicine bag'. The wearer remains fully in contact with those herbs and other substances that are generally believed to contain special powers to protect the body from all sources of danger. It is common to refer to such substances as being most efficacious to fechar o corpo (close/seal the body) in the sense of rendering it immune to hostile forces. In the same way as enormous powers were attributed to the 'medicine bag'

⁴⁷ Câmara Cascudo 1962:II, 578-579.

⁴⁸ Câmara Cascudo 1962:I, 135-136.

⁴⁹ Cf. Cabral 1942:267, 1957:170; Vasconcellos 1892:10.

by North American Indians⁵⁰, so is the patuá looked upon as being an extremely powerful object that cannot fail to accomplish what its manufacturer stipulated when worn by its rightful owner. Ideally it retains its power until the death of its owner at which point it is useless to anybody else, but the owner must comply with taboos regarding its use. He should never touch it when he is de corpo sujo, nor must it ever be opened and the contents revealed. If these taboos are not carefully followed the patuá loses all its power⁵¹.

The use of amulets consisting of small leather bags filled with leaves and similar objects is still a common practice among present-day Yoruba⁵². Sometimes the container consists of a horn filled with the different substances thus contributing the additional power of the horn shape to the amulet⁵³. In Brazil the contents of patuás vary considerably in accordance with the preferences

50 See Pardal (1937:80) who quotes Catlin on the 'medicine bag': '...a la cual rinden el más grande homenaje y miran como la salvaguardia de su seguridad durante toda la vida...consideran que sin la bolsa, la mala suerte y las desdichas los acompañarán'.

51 According to legend, the Brazilian bandit Lampeão died because he had rendered his patuá powerless by wearing it when he was de corpo sujo. See Amorim 1959:225-226. Cf. Campos 1967:31; Farrinder 1969:159; Black 1883: 170-171.

52 Talbot 1926:II, 180.

53 Farrinder 1969:160.

and beliefs of the maker, and since most prescriptions obtained included pemba preparada it follows that the maker of the patuá should include in leaf form one or more of the herbs he uses in the manufacture of pemba. Querino (1938:97-98) maintains that the patuá should contain something belonging to the wearer's orixá, but I did not find this to be the case⁵⁴.

(ii) Prescriptions for 'complex' amulets

Prescriptions obtained for patuás are as follows:

(I.2)

1

abre caminhos
alho lacho
danda
quiné
vence tudo
pemba

(C.4)

2

pemba by itself

(C.5)

3

bejeracum
danda (preferably picked on Good Friday)
(jet) figa
(arruda) figa
pemba (sometimes)

(C.11)

4

1 leaf of abre caminhos is placed in a red bag on one side of which must be attached a cross made of alecrim, on the other a pentangle sewn with red cotton. The cord on which the patuá is suspended should also be red. The colour red is significant because it is the colour of Yansan, the goddess of the thunderbolt, who can withstand all danger including the spirits of the dead (egun). If the usual taboos are not followed Yansan may send punishment whether or not she is the orixá who controls the person wearing the patuá.

⁵⁴ 'Os adultos porém, traziam pendentes do pescoço um patuá ou amulêto, pequena bolsa de couro contendo um objeto percentente ao anjo da guarda....'

One prescription was obtained for a patuá specifically designed to ward off any illness:

(c.6)

5

any leaf that comes under the control of Omolú, especially catinga de porco and jurema preta. Include with a piece of rock salt and a clove of male garlic in a square of black material. The material should then be gathered by the corners and tied with one long piece of straw.

(iii) Prayers and charms included in amulets

The above contents are usually though not necessarily always, wrapped in a prayer or charm. Those that I came across were without exception handwritten, though Maynard Araújo (1961:68) maintains that the prayer is more commonly printed than handwritten.

The practice of wearing a prayer or charm, or any sacred text around the neck was common both in mediaeval Europe and among the Muslim tribes (particularly the Malé and Hausa) who were sent to Brazil as slaves. Black (1883: 165-171) quotes various examples of charms carried on one's person to ward off the evil eye and various illnesses, while Lis Quibén (1949:489-490, quoting López) describes a small bag containing the four gospels in Latin worn by children either round the neck or hidden in clothing as a means of protection against the evil eye⁵⁵. The Enchiridion of Pope Leo III (a text book on occult practices styled on the Grimoires)

⁵⁵ Cf. Risco (1961:83) who describes an amulet consisting of the beginning of the four gospels enclosed in a silk bag and worn round the neck.

contains instructions to its owner that it should be kept in a bag of new leather and carried as far as practicable on his person⁵⁶.

The Malé were particularly well-known in Brazil for their custom of wearing quotations from the Koran written on paper, small pieces of wood or other suitable substances and hidden inside a small leather bag. These bags were called mandingas and the Malé themselves came to be known as mandingueiros⁵⁷. Such amulets are still common in West Africa where they are traded particularly by the Hausa⁵⁸. However, it is most unlikely that any of the patuás at present in use in Brazil should contain prayers in Arabic because the Malé and Hausa groups have been broken up, the majority having become associated with Candomblé de caboclo⁵⁹. The efficacy of a patuá, moreover, dies with its owner so the traditional-styled ones should by now have disappeared⁶⁰.

56. Alleged details concerning publication are: Rome, 1502 or 1522 (Gifford 1964:213).

See also Waite 1911:41, 43.

57. Ramos 1940:83: '...não se separaram de seus talismans ou mandingas, e eram tidos como grandes feiticeiros, de onde o nome de mandingueiros por que se tornaram conhecidos'.

See also Rodrigues 1935:32; Querino 1938:118-119; Bouisson 1960:282.

58. Béart 1960:39; Parrinder 1969:161.

59. There is one Malé seita in Cachoeira which meets very rarely during the year. When the current pai de santo (C.10) dies it will cease to function completely because there is no adequate successor.

60. Cf. Maynard Araújo 1961:75.

Prayers for inclusion in patuás are rarely originally made up by the maker, in fact many of them are very similar to those readily available in such publications as the Antigo e Verdadeiro Livro de São Cipriano.

(C.4) becomes possessed by her orixá and then she chooses the appropriate prayer out of any of the cheap publications containing such prayers, the Bible, or a priest's breviary. The prayer is then copied out and included in the pertinent patuá. Usually in this case the type of prayer chosen will be in accord with the patient's own orixá, so a patient with a female orixá will be given a prayer that entreates the intercession of a female saint. The opposite occurs if the patient belongs to a male orixá.

Prayers are usually directed towards a Catholic saint though occasionally the African equivalent will be invoked. One informant (C.2) mentioned that he knew specific prayers that governed all usual illnesses and the appropriate one would be selected to suit the occasion. He would not part with the prayers although I suspect that they may be identical to those curing prayers that cover a whole range of illnesses that will be discussed in the next chapter.

Cascudo (1962:I,135) however, mentions how some patuás when opened were found to contain banalities and obscenities, but he gives no examples. Campos (1967:115-116) gives the following charms to assist parturition:

Eu e meu cavalo passando bem;
 quem quiser parir
 que faça por isso,
 e, se não puder,
 que morra entupida.

Tenha eu rancho
 E o meu cavalo
 Que para a burra⁶¹
 Não dá-me abalo

Me and my horse doing
 well;
 Whoever wants to give
 birth
 Let her do so for
 this reason,
 and, if she can't
 Let her die of
 congestion.

Let me have shelter
 And my horse
 Let the ass give birth
 Don't let it bother me.

I came across nothing similar to these among prayers that may be included in patuás. A random inspection of marketed patuás, however, revealed that the majority contained either blank pieces of paper or small cuttings from printed prayers in the Catholic style, cut out in such a haphazard manner as to render them meaningless. None of them contained any complete prayer. It is significant, however, that these marketed patuás are not normally purchased and worn by people who seriously wish to protect themselves from forces of evil. Marketed patuás appeal mainly to tourists and are never taken very seriously by initiates or serious cult followers.

The following prayers are not, to my knowledge, included in the cheap publications usually owned by curandeiros. It is intended merely to transcribe and comment very briefly on prayers normally included in patuás as a fuller discussion of the principal characteristics of prayers will be given in the next chapter.

⁶¹ Also given by Costa 1907:132.

The first appears to be an orthodox prayer in the Catholic tradition although I was assured that 'o anjo da minha guarda' referred not to the Catholic guardian angel but to the orixá. The same is true in the final sentence of the second prayer in which 'guia' must be looked upon as being a synonym of orixá.

(I.2)

1

Eu me entrego a Jesus
a sua santíssima cruz,
ao santíssimo sacramento,
as tres reliquias que
ele tem dentro.
Maria Santíssima
esteja sempre comigo.
O anjo da minha guarda
me guarde, me livre
das astúcias de Satanás
e das artes que ele faz.

I surrender myself to
Jesus
to His most holy cross,
to the most holy
sacrament,
and to the three relics
which are contained
therein.
Most Holy Mary, be ever
by my side.
Guardian angel,
guard me, deliver me
from Satan's cunning
ways
and practices.

(I.2)

2

Cristo e São Jorge
nas horas de agitação
cansados pelos inimigos.
O portador desta
oração
tenha força para
abrandar os corações
tiranos,
Senhor Jesus,
pela fé que tenho
em ver São Claudio.
Aleluia.
Trago aos corações
dos meus inimigos
debaixo dos meus pés.
São Jorge é meu guia.

Christ and S. Jorge
in times of trouble
wearied by their enemies.
May the wearer of this
prayer
have the strength to
soften tyrannical
hearts,
Lord Jesus,
by my faith
in S. Claudio.
Aleluia.
I trample the hearts
of my enemies
beneath my feet.
S. Jorge is my guide.

The Catholic saint that is most commonly invoked for assistance is St. George, but he is very clearly linked all the time with Oxossi (orixá of the hunt) as revealed in the following prayer, which contains both Catholic and African names:

(I.6)

3

Senhor, quero que
 meu corpo fique
 sempre fechado
 e nenhum mal
 provocado pelos homens
 possa me atingir.
 Quero que os meus
 inimigos sejam sempre
 enganados quando
 tentarem prejudicarme.
 Quero que nenhuma
 arma branca ou
 arma de fogo
 possa atingir o
 meu corpo.
 Quero que a lança
 de São Jorge
 de quem sou muito
 devoto esteja sempre
 pronta a me-defender,
 que jamais o sangue
 corra do meu corpo,
 que meus inimigos
 sejam impotentes
 quando tentarem
 me-destruir,
 que a espada de Oxossi
 cubra-me a cabeça
 para evitar
 qualquer malefício.

Lord, may
 my body always remain
 sealed
 and immune to any ill
 brought about by man.
 I ask that my
 enemies be always
 confounded when
 they try to harm me.
 I ask that my body
 be always protected from
 any arm or
 firearm.

May the lance
 of S. Jorge
 to whom I am
 devoted be always at the
 ready to defend me,
 and may the blood never
 flow from my body,
 and may my enemies
 find themselves impotent
 when they try
 to destroy me,
 may Oxossi's sword
 be ever above my head
 to avoid
 any evil-doing.

The terms of address used are deliberately vague
 (e.g. fulano⁶² in No. 4) in order that the pataú may have
 the same powers against any evil wisher:

⁶² Roughly equivalent to so-and-so.

(C.6)

4

Fulano, feiticeiro Cobé
 feiticeiro sem luz
 e sem cruz
 antes de você nascer
 nasceu o menino Jesus.
 A minha fraqueza em ti
 e as tuas forças
 eu trago preso debaixo
 do meu pé esquerdo.
 Fulano, você comigo
 não pode
 e nem há de poder
 que eu tenho as três pessoas
 da Santíssima Trindade
 para me valer
 Jesus com nome de Jesus.
 Ave Maria.

Fulano, sorcerer Cobé
 sorcerer without
 enlightenment
 or faith
 before you were born
 the child Jesus was born.
 My weakness before you
 and your strength
 I hold down beneath
 my left foot.
Fulano, you are
 powerless against me
 and always will be
 for I have the three persons
 of the Most Holy Trinity
 on my side
 In the name of Jesus.
 Ave Maria.

The lines 'antes de você nascer, nasceu o menino Jesus' are repeated again and again whenever an evil spirit becomes incorporated in a medium during a spirit session, and ultimately serve to drive it away. The notion that forces of evil can be overcome if trampled under the left foot is common and will be seen again in the ritual trabalho (see below, 274).

Another way of overcoming forces of evil is to establish one's superiority by means of stating antitheses:

(I.2)

5

Fulano: você é o bronze,
 eu sou o aço
 você é o fogo
 eu sou água⁶³.
 Se você tem alguma maldade,
 perversidade contra mim,
 Fulano, eu com as forças
 de Deus, do céu,
 da terra e do mar,
 Eu te quebro, desmancho
 você na minha frente.
 Tem que se-humilhar
 as suas forças eu hei
 de quebrar
 com os poderes de Deus
 e da Virgem Maria. Amém.

Fulano, you are bronze,
 I am steel
 you are fire,
 I am water.
 If you bear any evil,
 any perverse wishes against me
 I, Fulano, with the powers
 of God, of heaven,
 of the earth and sea,
 Will break you down, dissolve
 you before my very eyes.
 You must be humbled
 and your powers shattered
 by me
 by the power of God
 and the Virgin Mary. Amen.

63 Cf. the curandeiro's use of water in a sacudida. See above, 93.

(I.2)

6

Eu coberto com o manto
de Nossa Senhora da Guia
Andarei, não andarei,
Meus inimigos encontrarei.
Mal não me farão
Nem eu lhe farei
Andarei, não andarei.

Um cruzeiro encontrarei.
Foi o anjo São Gabriel

Que encontrou com Nossa
Senhora

E lhe salvou rezando
Ave Maria
O braço do Onipotente
descaia sobre quem me
queira fazer mal,
Que fique imóvel como

pedra
Enquanto que eu triste

pecador faço que ando
em serviço de Deus Senhor.
Amém.

Covered by the mantle
of
Our Lady the Guide, I
Shall walk and not walk,
and meet my enemies.
They will do me no harm
Nor will I harm them.
I shall walk and not
walk.

I shall find a shrine.
It was the angel
Gabriel

Who met Our Lady

And greeted her praying
Ave Maria
The hand of the Almighty
shall fall on whoever
wishes to do me evil,
May he be struck as
still

as stone

While I, poor sinner,
try

to walk in God's ways

Amen.

A person's inviolability may also be stressed by
employing a form based on ritual chanting such as in the
final lines of the next prayer.

(C.2)

7

Jesus adiante paz e guia

Encomendo-me a Deus
e à Virgem Maria
minha mãe
e aos doze Apóstolos

meus irmãos.
Andarei dia e noite

eu e meu corpo cercado
e circulado com as

Forward Jesus, peace
and guide
I commend myself to God
and the Virgin Mary
my mother
and to the twelve
Apostles
my brothers.
I shall walk by day and
night
my body surrounded and
defended by the

64 This prayer is also quoted almost verbatim by Andrade
1963:210; Maynard Araújo 1958:132; Vieira Filho
1953-1954:42.

armas de São Jorge.
O meu corpo não será
preso nem ferido,
Nem meu sangue derramado.

Andarei tão livre
como andou Jesus Cristo
nove meses no ventre da
Virgem Maria,
Meus inimigos terão
olhos e não me verão
Terão boca, não me
falarão
Terão pés, não me
alcançarão
Terão mãos, não me
ofenderão.
(Quem trazer esta
oração ao pescoço
não será ofendido pelos
seus inimigos).

arms of S. Jorge.
My body will not be
captured or wounded,
Nor will my blood be
spilt.

I shall be as free
as Jesus Christ was
nine months in the
Virgin's womb,
My enemies will have eyes,
but not see me
They will have mouths
and be speechless
They will have feet, but
not catch up with me
They will have hands but
do me no harm.

(Whoever wears this prayer
round his neck will not
be harmed by his enemies).

Formulae of this type are common in such prayers and
are found all over Brazil. Birnfeld (1951:60), for
example, gives:

8

Livrai-me, Jesus,
dos meus inimigos,
se tiverem olhos, que
não me enxerguem,
se tiverem ouvidos, que
não me ouçam,
se tiverem mãos, que
não me peguem,
se tiverem boca, que
não me falem,
se tiverem armas, que
não me firam;
boca de cão e de lobo

para mim seja trancada,
boca dos meus inimigos
para mim seja tapada,
Que eu fique em paz⁶⁵
e em concórdia. Amém.

Free me Jesus,
from my enemies,
if they have eyes, may
they not see me,
if they have ears, may
they not hear me,
if they have hands, may
they not hit me,
if they have mouths, may
they not speak to me,
if they have arms, may
they not wound me;
may the mouths of dogs
and
wolves be sealed to me,
likewise the mouths of
my enemies.
May I remain in peace
and concord. Amen.

⁶⁵ For other prayers of this type see Piazza 1960:123-124;
Lima 1946:122, 123-124; Teixeira 1954:85; Boiteux 1944:41,
43. On page 40 Boiteux gives a similar prayer with the
words so arranged on the paper that they take the form
of a cross.
See also Cabral 1957:170.

Before the patuá is sealed the maker should make repeated signs of the cross over it with his right hand while requesting out loud all the orixás to join together and give strength to the orixá or saint who controls the prayer inside the patuá. This request takes the form of a spontaneous prayer, an example of which is transcribed here:

(I.2)

9

A meu glorioso Pai,
eu imploro, e rogo a Deus,
e peço a vós que dé força
a todos os orixás,
luzes ao dono desta oração

que é São Jorge,
que ele seja guia e protetor
de todos aqueles que usarem
ele,
que feche o corpo,
que livre das tentações,

quebrando as forças
dos inimigos,
que eles não tenham força
para nunca atingir malefício
nenhum contra eles

que usarem.
Com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria
Louvado seja Nosso Senhor
Jesus Cristo.
Que dé força e saúde

a aqueles que usarem ele;
que seja para ser guardião;
seja para fechar o corpo,
e seja para eles adquirir

qualquer coisa na vida
que eles queiram para
se-desenvolver.

My glorious Father,
I implore, and call on
God
and ask you to give
strength
to all the orixás,
enlightenment to him
to whom this prayer is
made,
he being S. Jorge,
that he may be a guide
and protector
to all those who use
this,
may he seal their bodies,
lead them out of
temptation,
shattering the forces
of their enemies,
that they may never have
strength to bring about
any evil-doing against
those
who use this.
With the power of God
and the Virgin Mary.
Praised be Our Lord
Jesus Christ.
May he give strength and
health
to those who use this;
be it as a protection;
be it to seal the body,
and be it for them to
acquire
anything in life
they may require for their
spiritual development.

In the majority of cases the patuá is now ready for use but (C.4) mentioned that before allowing it to be used it should be taken to church by the maker and lifted up in the right hand in the direction of the altar at the moment when the priest elevates the host.

CHAPTER IXA REZA

A.

(i) A description of the ritual and the herbs employed

Certain prayers, usually those that cover fairly minor complaints (e.g. verrugas - warts) are usually recited by ordinary individuals (often the patient himself), but in more serious cases it is considered that a cure will be more likely if someone who specialises in such things is consulted. (C.13) earned his livelihood entirely by reciting prayers for ill people, and was known locally as a rezador or benzedor (man who prays/blesses). However, it is considered that the cure will be considerably more effective and speedy if the prayer is recited by a pai or mãe de santo, especially in cases involving the evil eye and/or the ill wind. The pai or mãe de santo in such cases recites the prayer in the normal fashion and never falls into the trance state at any stage during the ritual.

Most prayers are accompanied by certain ritual acts, the main one being the gentle brushing of certain leaves in the shape of a cross against the patient's body, or that particular part of the body where the illness is located. This is very akin to the idea behind sacudida but in a reza the leaves only just touch the skin as opposed to being brought down heavily on the body. Moreover, for a reza it is only necessary for the curandeiro to hold three

leaves of any one plant in his hand while for a sacudida he is required to hold definite numbers of whole sprigs that may withstand prolonged heavy treatment. Any other prescribed ritual will be pointed out at the time of transcribing the prayer.

All informants stressed that any herb may be used during a reza (although (I.2) did not include herbs that belong to Exú). There are, however, certain herbs that informants single out from others as being particularly efficacious for use during a reza. Analysis of them shows that the majority are fairly evenly distributed among all the orixás (see table). It should be borne in mind, however, that two of the herbs, (arruda and manjerição), have traditionally been used for rezas in Portugal and Spain and this may be the principal factor behind their continued use in Brazil, and not their attachment to any particular orixá.

Table

Orixá	No. of herbs
Yemanjá	10
Omolu	8
Oxun	7
Naná	7
Yansan	6
Ogun	6
Oxossi	4
Exú	3
Okalá	3
Xangô	2

Whereas informants are quick to point out the various herbs that may be used during a reza, the fact is that only five are used all the time. These are: arruda, guiné, manjeriçã, pinhão roxo, vassourinha de Nossa Senhora. It may be significant that all these herbs come under the control, either wholly or partially, of Omolú, the one exception being manjeriçã. However, manjeriçã is controlled in part by Naná, a feminine equivalent of Omolú, who is extremely close to him in every way. She is considered to be very old and in one of the myths is depicted as the mother of Omolú. It is stressed however that the practice of using manjeriçã and arruda may not be based on their association with any particular orixá but on their traditional employment in Europe to accompany a reza.

It is common to have one or more of the five herbs listed here growing either in the confines of the caboclo cult houses, or in front of a whole row of dwelling houses for the use of all the occupants. Ordinary caboclo cult followers who are not members of the priestly hierarchy tend to take their own herbs of their own choice to the pai or mãe de santo when requiring a reza and they inevitably choose one of the standard five herbs usually found growing near their houses since it is very rare for people outside the priestly hierarchy to have a very deep knowledge of plant lore.

As in the case of sacudida, the patient stands opposite an open door all the way through the ritual. Some pais or mães de santo actually prefer to conduct the reza inside the peji (I.3, I.4, I.6, C.2, C.3, C.9, S.2). The prayer is recited in a low voice at very high speed so that only one or two words may be caught. Fast recitation was common in all cases observed and informant (C.3) mentioned that the reason for this was to ensure that the prayer was recited without the curandeiro being distracted in any way that might make him falter or make a mistake. Were he to do so he would have to start again from the beginning¹. (S.5) observed that a mistake in the recitation of prayers for the evil eye implies that the evil inside the patient is beginning to affect the curandeiro. For this reason it is common for the person reciting the prayer to keep a small piece of dandá or alho macho in the left side of his or her mouth. (C.2) only ever conducts a reza while wearing his patuá, and (C.6) makes a cross with a clove of alho macho over the pulse in each wrist before commencing the reza. All informants maintained that it was common to feel the force of evil when reciting a reza to cure the evil wind and/or the evil eye, and that it was for this reason that some protective measure should be taken.

¹ Cf. Rozeira (1963:556) who points out that a prayer to Santo Antonio de Lisboa is infallible when recited without any mistakes, but valueless when recited with errors.

(ii) Curing prayers and their relation to myth

It has been pointed out elsewhere how most cultures recall myths and how these myths may have enormous significance for the whole community:

myth is thought to express the absolute truth, because it narrates a sacred history;..... Being real and sacred, the myth becomes exemplary, and consequently repeatable, for it serves as a model, and by the same token as a justification, for all human actions. In other words, a myth is a true history of what came to pass at the beginning of Time, and one which provides the pattern for human behaviour. (Eliade 1971:23)²

Many myths refer back to a moment in time when Man's condition was paradisiacal, and many creation myths go on to describe how some form of catastrophe occurred shortly after creation which resulted in Man's forfeiting his paradisiacal existence for the one he leads at present. It is common among many cultures to attempt to recreate the state of paradise such as existed at the beginning of the world, and this is done primarily by means of repetition of myth. By imitating the actions of the God who created the world it is believed that the person in question can leave his current dimension and re-enter the dimension of perfection that existed before the catastrophe occurred. Then, as he emerges out of paradise into his familiar world he is a new man and feels refreshed. Many informants in Brazil mentioned that on emerging from the trance state in which they had been possessed by their orixás, they felt rested and refreshed. This feeling was once described with the verb limpar (to clean),

² Italics are Eliade's.

'O orixá limpa o medium' (the orixá cleans the medium) (C.2).

One method of treatment of illness among many cultures is to recite myth and to re-enact the actions of the gods. It is believed that by so doing the patient will transcend the present moment, be transported to the beginning of time and finally return to the present in full health. By being transported back to the moment of creation he is able to be created again. The notion of death and rebirth that is common to most acts of transformation may be seen, therefore, in the treatment of illness. Reichel-Dolmatoff (1971:177-178) describes the treatment of illness as follows:

In principle, an illness is imagined as a wrapping, a thin black cape that envelops the patient and must be broken in some manner to accomplish the cure. Obviously, this cape represents the placenta, and the sick person himself is compared with a foetus. An effective cure consists then in producing a birth. What is sought is to rupture the envelope and to reincorporate the patient into normal life. There is one single word -mahsári- meaning to cure and to be born.

One of the main characteristics of most of the curing prayers currently in use in Brazil is that they belong to the tradition of myth. They often tell a story which is about the patron saint or saints of the illness that is to be cured, although mention of any saint, even a fictitious one, appears to be quite acceptable. Sometimes the prayer takes the form of a conversation conducted between the saints and Jesus

Christ³ in which Jesus Christ asks the saints where they are going. When they reply that they are on their way to cure a certain illness, Jesus Christ tells them the ingredients with which to cure. The prayer then often ends with a recitation by both patient and curandeiro of one or more of the standard Catholic prayers (e.g. Pater Noster, Ave Maria, Salve Regina etc.).

Some informants make distinctions between which standard prayers should be said depending on the sex of the patient. If the patient is a man, the Ave Maria or Salve Regina should be recited, if a woman, the Pater Noster or Gloria Patri (I.1, C.6, C.11, C.14, S.1).

The meeting and/or conversation as reported in the prayer is usually historically fictitious but both patient and curandeiro must believe that what is being recited is the truth, for without such faith it is thought that no cure is possible. 'São as palavras de Deus, e Deus cura tudo' (They are the words of God and God cures everything) (C.6).

3 The curandeiro, however, tends to play both parts.

B.

There follows a transcription of prayers with commentary

Azia, mal de azia (Heartburn)

(S.1)

1

Santa Iria
 tem tres filhas
 uma fia
 outra cose
 e outra cura⁴
 mal d'azia.

Santa Iria
 has three daughters
 one spins
 another sews
 and the other cures
mal d'azia.

⁴ For similar versions see Costa 1907:128; Lira 1944:281.
 For virtually identical versions which mention Sofia
 instead of Iria, see Gonçalves 1938:51; Magalhães
 1966:219 and Vieira Filho 1953-1954:45.
 See also Braun 1950:57.

Campainha caída (Inflammation of the throat believed to be caused by a change in position of the Adam's apple, known as campainha - hence campainha caída, fallen Adam's apple.)

(C.7)

2

Assim como o padre
veste e reveste
e soube ao altar
assim campainha caída
tu há de voltar
para teu lugar.

As the priest
robes and unrobes
and goes up to the altar
so campainha caída
must you return
to your place.

(C.13)

3

Portas abertas
a frente para o mar
a campainha caída
chega para seu lugar
com as chaves do sacrário
a tua companhia
tem de levantar.

Open doors
facing the sea
campainha caída
return to your place
with the keys of the
sanctuary
accompanying you.

While the prayer is being recited the patient must insert his finger in his mouth and press upwards on the palate while the person reciting pulls the patient's hair with one hand while brushing the leaves in the form of a cross over his Adam's apple (C.13).

(C.7) however, omits pulling the hair⁶.

⁵ For a similar version see Amorim 1959:137.

⁶ Cf. Puckett (1926:368-369) who refers to a complaint known as 'fallen palate' cured by pulling the patient's hair sharply and striking the back of his neck.

Cobreiro or Eapinje (Shingles)

It is commonly believed that this illness is caused by an insect or animal such as a toad or lizard either crawling over a piece of clothing which is subsequently worn, or actually coming into physical contact with the skin. The rash is looked upon as covering the area contaminated by the animal. It is believed that if the two ends meet, the patient will die (I.2 and passim)⁷. Different rituals accompany the curing prayers: a solution of water and salt is prepared in a saucer. The leaf is then dipped in the saucer and crosses are described over the affected area.

(C.13)

4

Eu vim de Roma
de romaria
rezando cobreiro
de coברהria.
Cobreiro de sapo
cobreiro de aranha
cobreiro de cobra
cobreiro de lagartixa
cobreiro de quanto fôr bicho
peçonhento
com ramo verde
e agua fria
com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria.

I came from Rome
on a pilgrimage
saying prayers for
cobreiro de coברהria
cobreiro from toads
cobreiro from spiders
cobreiro from snakes
cobreiro from lizards
cobreiro from all
harmful creatures
with a green twig
and cold water
with God's power
and that of the Virgin.

The following prayer is accompanied by the same gestures except that the leaf used must be vassourinha de Nossa Senhora and the mixture made with three pinches of salt.

7 See also Rodrigues 1907:274; Gouveia 1926:32; Cabral 1957:103; Lis Quibén 1949:497; Puckett 1926:374.

(S.1)

5

Eu vim de Roma
de romaria
rezando cobreiro
de cobra
lagartixa
sapo
e aranha
com ramo verde
e água fria
com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria.

I came from Rome
on a pilgrimage
saying prayers for cobreiro
from snakes
lizards
toads
and spiders
with a green twig
and cold water
with God's power
and that of the Virgin.

In another case the liquid is pure vinegar and after use the leaf must be left in the sun to dry. The letters JMJ standing for Jesus, Maria, José (Jesus, Mary, Joseph) may then be written in ink over the affected area³.

(S.5)

6

Meu Santo Antonio
Assim como esta folha é virgem
Essa doença também
Assim como esta folha morrer
Essa doença também.

My Santo Antonio
As this leaf is virgin
So is this illness
As this leaf dies
So may this illness.

(I.2) gave the following prayer that should be recited three times every day for three days:

(I.2)

7

Venho de Roma
de romaria
curando cobreiro
de bicharia

com ramos verdes
e água fria
com os poderes de Deus
e Virgem Maria.

I come from Rome
on a pilgrimage
curing cobreiro
caused by animals and
insects
with green twigs
and cold water
with God's power
and that of the Virgin.

The prayer may also be accompanied by a symbolic cutting, the cobreiro itself being metaphorically seen as an animal with a head and a tail. Crosses are made over the affected area with the stalk of a maçã leaf saying:

3 Cf. Costa 1907:128-129; Magalhães 1966:198-199;
Cliveira 1948:85-86; Cunha 1951:9; Cabral 1957:104.

(C.6)

8

Cobreiro bravo
Eu te corto a cabeça.

Bold cobreiro
I cut off your head.

A small piece is then cut off the stalk at the end where the leaf used to grow. Then the stalk is again brushed over the area saying:

Cobreiro bravo
Eu te corto o rabo.

Bold cobreiro
I cut off your tail.

A small piece is then cut off the other end of the stalk.

The above is repeated three times followed by:

Essas seguintes palavras
Entrego a São Martin
e a São Gonçalo.

The following words
I dedicate to São Martin
and São Gonçalo.

There now follows the Pater Noster in Portuguese. All the pieces are then threaded onto a string which is tied to form a loop and hung on a tree (C.6).

Another example of symbolic cutting involves the reciter holding a bunch of coerana leaves at one end while the patient holds the other. The reciter cuts the leaves during the following dialogue:

(I.2)

9

Patient: O que está fazendo?
Reciter: Estou cortando cabeça
 corpo e rabo.

What are you doing?
I am cutting off head,
body and tail.

This is repeated three times then the following is said while the affected area is brushed with vassourinha de Nossa Senhora steeped in vinegar:

Eu vim de Roma
de romaria
rezando cobreiro
de cobraria
se foi de sapo
de cobra

I came from Rome
on a pilgrimage
saying prayers for cobreiro
de cobraria
be it from a toad
a snake

de lagarto
de lagartixa
de aranha
com os poderes de Deus
e de Senhor São Bento

eu tiro você de aqui
com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria.

lizards big
or small
a spider
with God's power
and that of Senhor São
Bento
I cast you out of here
with God's power
and that of the Virgin.

The conversation technique is common in many cobreiro prayers⁹. Sometimes the conversation is between two saints¹⁰ although more often it is between a saint and Jesus Christ¹¹.

9 See Maynard Araújo 1958:137; Teixeira 1954:36-38.

10 The two saints may have identical or very similar names, e.g.:

Santa Iria perguntou a Santa Iria
Cobreiro bravo com que se curaria.
Com raso verde e agua fria,
Com o nome de Deus e da Virgem Maria,
Só com isso se curaria.

(Nunes 1950:44)

São Andrão perguntou a Santa Andria
Cobreiro bravo com que se curaria
- Com raso verde e agua fria
Em nome de Deus e da Virgem Maria.

(Paula 1951:27)

Santo Egidio perguntô pra Santa Egida: - Com que se cura impige ou cobrêro? Arrespondeu Santa Egida: - Com funcho e água fria, Padre Nosso e Ave-Maria. (Teixeira 1954:38).

11 Examples of such types may be found in Boiteux 1944:35, 36; Campos 1967:118; Gouveia 1926:33, 34; Magalhães 1966:200-201; Romero 1954:673.

For other curing prayers using different techniques see: Faz 1954:75, 76; Braun 1950:57; Campos 1967:119; Nunes 1950:43, 44, 47; Valle 1963:607-608.

Dor de Cabeça (Headache)

(I.2) uses prayers for the evil eye to cure headaches, and (C.13) uses the same prayer as for sol na cabeça (see below, 237).

The following, however, is used exclusively for headaches despite the fact that the sun is mentioned as a possible cause.

(S.1)

10

Foi Flaviano e Lauriano
numa fonte que chama-se
o monte
pegar uma folha do monte
de oliveira
para rezar dor de cabeça
se (é) de ¹²chaqueta
de ¹³maleta
de sol
e de sereno.
Volta Lauriano e Flaviano

junta-se arca com arca
quando a barca de Noé
descer e subir
a dor de cabeça do doente
passará
com a água do fonte
do monte
com Jesus e José e Maria.
Que assim seja. Amém ¹⁴.

Flaviano and Lauriano went
to a spring called
the mount
to pluck a leaf of mountain
olive
to say prayers for headache
for migraine
for stabbing pains
from the sun
from the night air.
Come back Lauriano and
Flaviano
join temple with temple
when Noah's ark
falls and rises
the patient's headache
will go
with the water of the
mountain spring
Jesus, Mary and Joseph.
So be it. Amen.

12 Probably a corruption of enxaqueca: migraine.

13 Described by (S.1) as a sudden sharp pain.

14 For other prayers for headaches but which bear no resemblance to the one transcribed, see Amorim 1959:139; Maynard Araújo 1961:340-341; Lima 1946:117-118.

Dor de dentes (Toothache)

Guiné leaves (preferably) should be brushed over the area affected to the accompaniment of this prayer:

(C.6)

11

Meu São Manso amansador
que amansou os touros e
os leão bravo (sic),
assim hei de amansar
essa dor de dente
que para mim está com
todos os diabos.
O sangue corre;
o coração se bate;
o mal dessa dor de dente
vai para as ondas do mar sagrado.

São Manso, tamer
who tamed the bulls
and the fierce lions
so must I
tame this toothache
which is
bedevilling me.
The blood flows
the heart beats
the pain of this tooth
disappears in the waves of
the sacred sea.

The majority of curing prayers for toothache, however, usually refer to SS. Pelonha¹⁵ or Pedro who are often depicted sitting on a stone, such as in the following example:

(C.13)

12

Estava Santa Pelonha
Sentada numa pedra fria.
Ven chegando a Virgem Maria,
perguntando:
-Que está fazendo Pelonha
sentada nesta pedra fria?
-É dor de dentes, Senhora
e nevralgia.
-Assim, Pelonha, como eu trago
este menino
sentado no braço
que nasceu do ventre,
por Deus eu lhe juro
que lhe passe essa dor de dente.

Pelo sol nascente
pela lua poente

Santa Pelonha was
seated on a cold stone.
The Virgin came along
asking:
What are you doing Pelonha,
sitting on that
cold stone?
It's toothache and
neuralgia, my Lady. Pelonha,
as I carry on my arm this
child
that was born of
me, in God's name I
swear your toothache will
pass away.
By the rising sun
and the setting moon

¹⁵ St. Apollonia.

por Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo
Que lhe passe Pelonha
esta dor de dente¹⁶.

by our Lord Jesus Christ
May Felonha's toothache
leave her.

The reference to the sun or the moon is common, reflecting the notion that toothache may be related to the movements of celestial bodies¹⁷.

- 16 For variations see: Amorim 1959:142-143; Boiteux 1944: 35; Campos 1967:130; César 1941:153; Lima 1946: 119-120; Teixeira 1954:44; Vieira Filho 1953-1954:46. For other prayers for toothache see Farroso 1949:441; Cabral 1957:141-144; Gomes 1951:191; Gouveia 1926:86; Vasconcellos 1882:20; Magalhães 1966:228; Nunes 1950:45; Paula 1951:29; Silva 1926:23.
- 17 Cf. Piazza (1960:129) who gives a prayer for toothache addressed to the waxing moon.
Cf. also Cabral (1957:142) who records the general belief that toothache could derive from prolonged exposure to the sun.

Engasgo (Choking fits)

Prayers for engasgo are usually very short on account of the immediate danger which faces the patient. The reciter makes crosses with his thumb over the patient's throat.

(C.11)

13

Homem bom
mulher ruim
esteira velha
espinha na garganta.

Good man
bad woman
old rush mat
bone in the throat.

The prayer refers back to a legend in which Jesus Christ (S.4 stipulates Jesus Christ and St. Peter) arrived disguised as a beggar at a house and asked for food and lodging. He was well received by the husband but the wife grumbled, refused to give him any of the chicken she was preparing for the family dinner, and sent him outside to the yard to sleep on an old mat. The following morning, after she had sent the visitor away, she choked herself on one of the chicken bones. Her husband went in search of the beggar who taught him the prayer and revealed his true identity (C.5)¹⁸.

18 Cf. the versions of this legend and examples of prayers given by Campos 1967:120-121; Amorim 1959:135-136; Magalhães 1966:208; Teixeira 1954:49; Paz 1954:73. Other sources quote variations on the above in which São Braz (or Brás) is also asked to intercede: e.g. São Brás Dispo/Homem bom e mulher má/Esteira velha e ceia má/Poi Deus Nosso Senhor quem disse/Que és de desengasgar. (Gonçalves 1938:51). For other examples of this see Amorim 1959:137; Campos 1967:121; César 1941:166; Nunes 1950:44; Romero 1954:II, 671.

Prayers directed exclusively to São Braz order him to clear the patient's throat by making the obstacle go up or down where appropriate:

(I.1)

14

São Braz bispo
Escravo de Cristo
suba ou desça
obedeça¹⁹.

Bishop São Braz
Slave of Christ
go up or down
obey.

(C.13) gave the following prayer which does not fit into either of the categories already given:

(C.13)

15

Eu vi Senhor de Nazaré
sois alegria de quem
tem fé.
Esta garganta vai sarar
este engasgo vai acabar.
Com essas orações
sua garganta vai puri-
ficar.
Deus que lhe benza
com esta cruz
pecado nosso perdoai
Jesus.

I saw our Lord of Nazareth
you, the joy of those
who have faith.
This throat will heal
this choking will end.
With these prayers
your throat will be
cleansed.
God bless you
with this cross
and forgive our sins
oh Jesus.

19 For variations see Cabral 1957:124; Gouveia 1926:27; Amorim 1959:135; Birnfeld 1951:59; Nagalhães 1966:208.

Erisipela (Erysipelas)

Prayers for erisipela are usually accompanied by the application of olive oil with herbs (I.1), a feather (I.2, C.5)²⁰, or esparto grass (C.1)²¹. Ott (1957:II, 42) points out how certain prayers have been adapted to suit local conditions, hence in Bahia where sheep are rare, sheep's wool is not used. The words of the prayer, however, which often contain the ingredients for the cure, tend not to change. (I.2) who supplied prayer 16 underlined the importance of reciting it verbatim but stipulated the use of a feather to apply the oil and not sheep's wool as mentioned in the prayer²².

Sometimes the patient is required during recitation of the prayer to sit with the foot corresponding to the side of his body in which the disease has the greater hold resting on the back of a tortoise. He should press firmly on the tortoise so as not to allow it to move (I.2)²³.

20 Cf. Dietschly (1939:20) who mentions that the Incas used to use llama wool and feathers in order to arrest bleeding. Braun (1950:56-57) mentions using a chicken feather. Paula (1951:28) records the use of lamb's wool. Black wool and butter were prescribed in Britain 'probably for unction' (Black 1883:117). See also Lis Quibén 1945:275, 276, 285.

21 Cf. Lis Quibén 1945:285-286, 1949:310-311; Carneiro e Lima 1943:16, 26ff.

22 Cf. Cabral 1957:95.

23 Magalhães (1966:222) quotes Rodrigues who mentions how keeping a jaboti turtle in the house helps to cure erisipela. He suggests this may be indigenous in origin. Cf. Lima (1946:92): 'Ter um cágado em casa evita a entrada dos malefícios'.

Prayers for erisipela may take the form of a conversation between SS. Peter and Paul and Jesus Christ on the road to Rome. It is very common to give synonyms for erisipela and other illnesses through a fear that mentioning the name of the illness may be dangerous and entice it to stay longer in the body. Synonyms for erisipela will be underlined in the text.

(I.2)

16

Pedro Paulo foram a Roma
 Pedro Paulo vinham de Roma
 Jesus Cristo os encontrou
 Jesus Cristo lhes
 perguntou:
 - Pedro Paulo, o que vai
 em Roma? -
 - Muita zibole e
erisipela
 e muita gente morre dela -
 - Pedro Paulo voltam atrás -
 vá curar os doentes. -
 - Com que Senhor? -
 - Com azeite de oliva
 lã de ovelha viva
 com as graças de Deus
 e da Virgem Maria
 que tu curarias. -

Pedro Paulo went to Rome
 Pedro Paulo came from Rome
 Jesus Christ met them
 Jesus Christ
 asked them:
 - Pedro Paulo, what is
 going on in Rome? -
 - Much erysipelas

and many are dying of it. -
 - Pedro Paulo, return
 go and cure the sick. -
 - With what, Lord? -
 - With olive oil
 live lamb's wool
 with the grace of God
 and the Virgin Mary
 will you cure. -

(C.6)

17

Pedro Paulo foi a Roma
 com Jesus se encontrou.
 - Para onde vai Pedro
 e Paulo? -
 - Vou curar mal de monte
 Senhor -
 - Com que vós cura? -
 - Com azeite Senhor
 e as tres palavras
 da Santíssima Trindade
 e os doze apóstolos
 que te acompanhou. -

Pedro Paulo went to Rome
 and met Jesus.
 - Where are you going, Pedro
 and Paulo? -
 - I'm going to cure erysip-
 elas, Lord -
 - With what do you cure? -
 - With oil, Lord.
 and the three words
 of the Most Holy Trinity
 and the twelve apostles
 who accompanied you. -

(S.1)

18

Pedro e Paulo
foi em Roma
no caminho encontrou
Jesus Cristo.
Ele perguntou
- que que há por lá,
Pedro Paulo? -
Ele respondeu
- Mal do monte Senhor. -
- Volta-se atrás
Pedro Paulo
Vá rezar aquele mau

para nunca mais dar. -
- Com que rezo Senhor?

- Oleo de oliveira
azeite te sarará
com os poderes de Deus²⁴
e da Virgem Maria.

Pedro and Paulo
went to Rome
on the way they met
Jesus Christ.
He asked
- What's going on there,
Pedro Paulo? -
They replied
- Erysipelas, Lord. -
- Go back
Pedro Paulo
Go and say prayers for that
illness
so it never returns. -
- With what shall I pray,
Lord? -
- Olive oil
oil will cure you
with the power of God
and the Virgin Mary. -

One other prayer records a conversation between the reciter
and three Marys.

(C.13)

19

Estava sentado numa praia
Vêm chegando tres Marias
Maria Marta, Maria
Madalena e Maria Mãe
de Jesus, perguntando:
- Que está fazendo nesta
praia? -
- Rezando mal do monte

e mal da praia -
- Reza com nome do Pai

e do Filho e do
Espírito Santo. -

I was sitting on a beach
and three Marys came along
Maria Marta, Maria
Madalena and Maria Mother
of Jesus, asking:
- What are you doing on
this beach? -
- Saying prayers for
mal do monte
and mal da praia -
- Pray in the name of the
Father
of the Son and of
the Holy Spirit. -

24 Similar versions sometimes involving different saints on
a different journey are given by Campos 1967:127-129;
Dias 1944:I, 169-170; Gonçalves 1938:40;
Vasconcellos 1906:III, 196; Paula 1951:28; Lis Quibén
1945:274-276, 278, 714; Maynard Araújo 1958:138;
Teixeira 1954:51, 53-54; Valle 1963:600-602; Carneiro
e Lima 1943:16ff.

Another type of prayer traces the progress of the illness as it is forced out of the body towards the sea:

(I.3)

20

Isipra, isipela, isibelão,

zipra, zipelão

do tutano vai para o osso

do osso vai para a carne

da carne vai para a pele

da pele vai para a maré vazante²⁵.

Isipra, isipela,

isibelão,

zipra, zipelão

go from the marrow to the

bone, from bone to flesh,

from flesh to skin

from skin to the ebbing tide.

The following version, however, gives a list of synonyms for the illness, all of which are then thrown in the sea:

(C.13)

21

Du ví Senhor de Nazaré

Sois alegria de quem tem fé

Mal de monte, mal da praia

e as malditas esipelas,

e as malditas esipelas,

que jogo nas ondas do mar.

I saw our Lord of Nazareth

You, the joy of those who have faith,

Mal de monte, mal da praia

and the wretched

esipelas

and the wretched

esipelas

which I throw in the waves.

²⁵ Similar versions are given by Teixeira 1954:53; Nunes 1950:47; Magalhães 1966:223; Campos 1960:132; Boiteux 1944:37; Barroso 1949:444.

Espinhela caída (for explanation see text below)

There is no direct equivalent of espinhela caída in scientific medical terminology, and the name may be applied to any pain in the chest, back or stomach that stops a person holding himself fully upright. The term espinhela caída may be applied to a whole range of different indispositions for which scientific medicine has separate names, but it refers most commonly to a pain localised round the base of the rib-cage²⁶. Espinhela caída is regarded as being very serious since it may lead to other illnesses such as tuberculosis, cancer, liver and heart complaints (C.13), or to prolonged restricted breathing (C.6). (I.2) uses one and the same prayer (22) for espinhela caída, backache and any form of serious indisposition such as coronary thrombosis and tuberculosis. All informants agreed that espinhela caída may be inflicted by the evil eye or come on the ill wind.

Diagnosis consists of measuring certain parts of the body and comparing the measurements with other parts. It is believed that the person concerned has contracted espinhela caída if there is any disparity between the two measurements. The most usual technique is to measure with a piece of string from the elbow to the tip of the little finger and then to stretch the resulting length

²⁶ For other definitions of espinhela caída see particularly Piso 1643:22-23; Campos 1967:56-57; Magalhães 1966:225; Gonçalves 1938:39; São Paulo 1970:I, 141-147.

of string from one shoulder to another. If the string is too long the person concerned is believed to be suffering from espinhela caída (I.2, C.6, C.11)²⁷.

This procedure most probably finds its origins in the ancient practice of girdle-measuring in Europe. Thomas (1971:184) quotes a document of 1566 which describes a similar method:

she measureth the girdle or band of any such persons being sick or haunted, from her elbow to her thumb, craving God for Saint Charity's sake that if [they] be haunted with a fairy, yea or no, she may know, and saith that if it be so the band will be shorter and her cubit will reach further than commonly it doth.

and he goes on to conclude:

The assumption behind it was that the presence of an evil spirit ('fairy') would reflect itself in the inconstancy of the measured length.

A similar procedure is mentioned by Gifford (1958:87-88) with reference to the southern Slavs:

The victim stands with arms outstretched at shoulder level while the good witch, muttering magic words, measures with twine the distance from left heel to chin, from right middle fingertip to left middle fingertip, from left heel to right hand, and from right heel to left hand. Differences in measurement give diagnosis and prognosis, and cutting the twine with a knife after each measurement cuts away the sickness.

In Brazil it is believed that an essential part of tissue has become dislodged and 'fallen' from its rightful place and the prayers often refer to 'raising' it to its former position.

²⁷ Amorim (1959:139) records an identical method. Lis Quibén (1945:288, 293, 714) compares the measurements of each of the patient's hands, arms and legs. Rodríguez López (1974:119-120) compares the lengths of the patient's arms.

(I.2)

22

Deus quando andou no
 mundo
 espinhela caída levantou
 peito aberto, arca aberta
 levantou
 coma ajuda de Deus
 e da Virgem Maria. Amém²³.

When God walked
 the world
 he raised espinhela
caída
 open chest, open rib-
 cage
 he raised
 with the help of God.
 and the Virgin Mary.
 Amen.

Sometimes the reciter of the prayer stands behind
 the patient and pushes together both sides of the rib-cage
 (C.6, C.11, C.13, I.8). The expressions 'peito aberto'
 and 'arca(s) aberta(s)' refer to a possible collapse
 in the structure of the rib-cage:

(C.13)

23

Veio Pedro e Paulo
 de Roma
 no caminho encontrou
 com Jesus Cristo
 Jesus Cristo perguntou:
 - Aonde tu vens Pedro
 e Paulo? -
 - Senhor eu vim de Roma -
 - O que foi que tu
 encontrou? -
 - Senhor, encontrei
 peito aberto,
 encontrei as arcas
 abertas,
 torção na caixa dos
 peitos
 torção nas arcas
 e torção na boca da
 espinhela.

Pedro and Paulo came
 from Rome
 on the way they met
 Jesus Christ
 Jesus Christ asked:
 - Where have you
 come from
 Pedro and Paulo? -
 - Lord, from Rome -
 - And what did you
 find there? -
 - Lord I found
 open chests,
 I found open rib-cages,
 twisted ribs
 and twisted breastbones.

Other prayers refer to the windows of a house facing the
 sea but it is not clear whether this is intended to make
 the espinhela caída sympathetically turn towards and

23 For similar versions see Campos 1967:112-113; César
 1941:159; Edmundo 1932:474; Magalhães 1966:226;
 Paula 1952:17.

ultimately disappear in the sea or whether the house should be an example to the espinhela caída of something solid and unshakeable.

(I.2)

24

São Pedro fez sua casa
com quatro janelas,
duas para o mar
e duas para a terra.

Assim quero espinhela
te levantar
por São Pedro e São Paulo
e todos os santos e santas
da corte do céu.
Assim espinhela chega
a teu lugar.

São Pedro made his
house
with four windows
two facing the sea
and two facing the
land.
So espinhela, I wish
to raise you
by S. Pedro and S. Paulo
and all the saints
in the heavenly courts.
So espinhela return
to your place.

(C.6)

25

Encontrei São Pedro
e São Paulo no caminho
Jesus pergunta:
- Pra onde vai
Pedro e Paulo? -
- Vou curar de espinhela
caída. -
- Como curas, Pedro e
Paulo? -
- Tenho a minha casa
com quatro janelas
viradas para o mar.
Assim espinhela caída²⁹
volta para seu lugar³⁰. -

I met S. Pedro
and S. Paulo on the road
Jesus asks:
- Where are you going
Pedro and Paulo? -
- to cure espinhela
caída. -
- How do you cure, Pedro
and Paulo? -
- I have my house
with four windows
towards the sea.
So espinhela caída
go back to your place. -

Another example of sympathy may be found in the type of prayer that requests the espinhela to return to its original position as effortlessly as the priest ascends the altar:

(I.1)

26

Assim como o padre
Veste e reveste
e soube para o altar
espinhela caída³⁰
volte para seu lugar³⁰.

As the priest
Robes and rerober
And ascends the altar
So espinhela caída
go back to your place.

29 Cf. Boiteux 1944:36-37.

30 Cf. Lima 1946:128; Teixeira 1954:55.

Frouxo (Haemorrhage, flux)

Frouxo is a wide term that is applied to bleeding of all forms particularly abnormal menstruation, nose bleeds and cuts³¹.

Prayers simply call upon the blood to coagulate:

(S.1)

27

Sangue tem-te em ti
Como Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo
teve em si

Sangue tem-te nas veias

Como Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo
teve na ceia

Sangue tem-te no corpo

Como Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo
teve no horto³².

Blood, be contained
As it was contained
in our Lord Jesus
Christ³²

Blood, stay in the
veins

As our Lord Jesus Christ
had at the Supper

Blood, stay in the body

As our Lord Jesus Christ
Stayed in the Garden.

31 Maynard Araújo (1958:65) uses the term to describe diarrhoea.

Cf. Vogel (1970:188-189) who mentions how the terms 'flux' or 'bloody flux' were applied to dysentery in North America. See also Cabral 1957:128.

32 The sense here is unclear and the translation attempts only an approximation of the true meaning.

33 For variations see Amorim 1959:139-140; Boiteux 1944:35, 41; Campos 1967:125; César 1941:149; Costa 1907:127-129; Gonçalves 1938:37; Gouveia 1926:86; Lima 1946:118; Magalhães 1966:203-204; Paula 1952:16; Piazza 1960:121. A very similar prayer in Latin is given by McKenzie 1927:74.

Ingua (Bubo)

Ingua can be cured by pointing a knife at a large star in the night sky and saying:

(I.2)

28

Minha estrela,
esta ingua disse
que morra vós
e viva ela.
Eu digo que
morra ela
e viva vós³⁴.

O star
this ingua said
may you die
and it live.
I say
may it die
and you live.

A cross over the affected areas should be made with the knife during the second half of the prayer. Paula (1952:19) who gives a similar prayer, says that the cure should be effected preferably during the wane of the moon and directed at a star that is shortly to set over the horizon, thus taking the illness with it.

Another method consists of pointing a knife or a finger at a stick in the wall of the house (the houses of the poor are usually built of wattle and daub) and saying either:

(C.7)

29

Um, dois, tres
ingua fora.

One, two, three
Out with the ingua.

or

(S.1)

30

Tres, duas, uma
ingua nenhuma³⁵.

Three, two, one
No more ingua.

- ³⁴ For variations see Barroso 1949:441; Boiteux 1944:37; Braun 1950:57; Campos 1967:132; Costa 1907:18-19; Magalhães 1966:205; Nunes 1950:44; Valle 1963:603.
³⁵ For variations see Campos 1967:131; Magalhães 1966:206-207.

Other sources say that the patient should touch the hearthstone, stay near the fire (Barroso 1949:441; Maynard Araújo 1958:141; Lis Quibén 1945:295) or point to the tiles on the roof (Gouveia 1926:24).

Mau olhado, olho mal; quebranto(e) (Evil eye; overlooking)

The evil eye falls into two distinct categories.

First, there is what is known as quebranto or quebrante, known in English as 'overlooking', which is a force which disrupts of its own accord and which is never deliberately conjured up by anybody. Usually it emanates from some person who from birth happens to have the power to bring misfortune on others without deliberately wishing to.

The word quebranto, meaning literally a breaking, implies no sense of evil whatsoever. Similarly, the Greek name, baskania (βασκανία) implies no notion of evil in that it means simply envy, and the Portuguese invidia, also meaning envy, is often used as a synonym for quebranto.

It is commonly believed that words of praise may be a veiled form of envy hence many indispositions are attributed to the fact that the patient may have been the subject of some recent adulation. This is particularly relevant in the case of small children who are extremely prone to quebranto (see above, 169).

The second category is known in Portuguese as mau olhado, olhado or olho mau(1) (evil eye) and this refers to the deliberate infliction of some evil force by one person on another. It is seen as a force of evil that is put on a person with the deliberate intention of disrupting the normal functioning of his body.

Prayers for the evil eye tend to make no clear-cut distinction between quebranto and olho mau, it being

quite common to mention the two distinct varieties in the same prayer. Illnesses brought by overlooking and the evil eye are legion and may range from a minor indisposition such as a headache to stunted growth in infants and serious illnesses that result in death. Because of this, prayers to counteract the influence of the evil eye may be recited before the prayers for the illness in question (C.13, S.5, S.6, S.7). (C.13) who was consulted for a cure for chronic erysipelas diagnosed first the evil eye and recited the appropriate prayer, followed by the prayer for erysipelas³⁶. Pais and mães de santo, however, usually consult their orixá in such cases and if the verdict turns out to be that the patient's illness stems directly from the evil eye then only prayers to cure the evil eye are recited. It is considered in these cases that the illness will disappear as soon as the evil force has been expelled (I.2, I.3, I.6, I.7, C.2, C.5, C.6).

A common method of diagnosing the evil eye is to drop three drops of olive oil into a saucer of water. If they cannot be seen floating on the surface of the water the person is believed to be a victim of the evil eye.

The herbs most commonly employed are vassourinha de Nossa Senhora, argula and guiné (I.2 and passim) although

³⁶ Vieira Filho (1953-1954:46) gives a prayer that cures either erysipelas or the evil eye.

(S.1) and (C.11) prefer Maria preta and São Gonçálio³⁷.

One type of prayer establishes the reciter's superiority over the evil force inside the patient. The evil force is compared to iron while the reciter is compared to steel:

(I.2)

31

Leva o que trouxeste

Deus me benza

com a sua santíssima cruz

Deus me defenda dos maus olhos

e maus olhados

de todo o mal que me quizer.

Es tu ferro e eu aço

tu és o demonio

e eu te embaraço

Padre, Filho e Espírito Santo³⁸.

Take away what you brought

God bless me

with His most holy cross

God defend me from

maus olhos

and maus olhados

from all the evil

wished on me.

You are iron, I am

steel

you are the devil

and I confound you

in the name of the

Father, Son and Holy

Ghost.

Other prayers list the various means by which the patient might have become afflicted by the evil eye.

(C.13)

32

Deus te fez

e Deus criou

Deus gerou

na ventre da Virgem.

Fulano, com dois te botaram

God made you

and raised you

God was born

In the Virgin's womb.

Fulano, they used two

to put it on you

37 Cf. Laynard Araújo 1961:64-65 (arruda or andré); Cabral 1957:176 (arruda or alecrim), 1942:226 (arruda). Teixeira (1954:89) mentions one instance when Maria preta should be used for a boy, mentrasto (mentrasto) for a girl. However, arruda may be used for both sexes. Vieira Filho 1953-1954:45 (arruda).

38 For a similar comparison see Vasconcellos 1882:101. Vieira Filho (1953-1954:46) gives the variation 'Tu és ferro, eu sou osso'. Campos (1967:122-123) gives a further variation: 'tu és a madeira e eu sou o machado, tu és a fera e eu sou a espada'.

com tres eu te rezo³⁹

e o Pai, o Filho e o
Espírito Santo.
Olhados que te botaram

se foi no comer

se foi no beber
se foi no deitar
e se foi no levantar

olhado de mofina⁴⁰
olhado de quebrante
se foi no ganho

se foi no trabalho
se foi no pão de cada dia

se foi de magro

se foi de gordo
se foi nos passos
se foi nas passadas

se foi pelo dia
se foi pela tarde
com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria
tire este ollhado

joga nas ondas do mar.

(C.7)

33

Maria, para que deixou
te botar ollhado?

se é de feia
se é de magra
se é de gorda
se é de bonita
se é no teu andar
se é no teu olhar
se é de boa
se é de ruim
se é de ser alegre

se é de ser triste

I'll pray over you
with three
and the Father, Son and
Holy Ghost.

Olhados which were
cast over you
whether when you were
eating
when you were drinking
when you were lying down
or when you were getting
up

olhado de mofina
olhado de quebrante
whether when you were
at work
when you were labouring
when you were at your
daily bread
whether cast by a thin
man
or a fat man
whether you were walking
whether you were hard
at work

by day
or evening
with the power of God
and the Virgin Mary
let them (the ollhados)
be cast out
into the waters of the
sea.

Maria, why did you let
the ollhado be put on you?
be it by an ugly woman
or a thin one
or a fat one
or a pretty one
be it in your walking
or in your look
be it good
or bad
whether it makes you
happy
or sad

39. 'dois' refers to the two eyes, and 'tres' to the three
sprigs of herbs held by the reciter.

40. The spirit of a dead person who haunts the living,
(see below, 246).

se é no seu conversar

se é no comer

se é no beber

sai-te daqui olhos mal

vá para as ondas do mar

sagrado

aonde não canta o galo

nem galinha,

aonde não veja o sol se-pôr

com os poderes de Deus

e da Virgem Mãe Senhora.

Sai-te daqui quebrante

com os poderes de Deus

e da Virgem Mãe Senhora

com nome de Pai, Filho e

Espírito Santo.

Com dois te botaram

com tres te tiro

com os poderes de Deus

e da Virgem Maria.

(S.1)

34

Sant'Ana teve Jesus

nascido, criado, batizado,

ungido, sacramentado.

Fulano, que é que você tem?

Olhado, quebrante, quem lhe botou?

Foi um olho mau.

Com dois te botaram

com tres eu te tiro

se foi de feio ou de bonito

ou no sair

no comprar

be it in your

conversation

or your eating

or drinking

get out of here olhos
mal

away to the waves of

the holy sea

where no cock crows

nor hen,

to where you cannot see
the sun set

with the power of God

and our Lady Mother the

Virgin.

Get out of here

quebrante

with the power of God

and our Lady Mother

the Virgin

in the name of the

Father,

Son and Holy Ghost.

They used two to put it
on you

I'll take it off you

with three

with the power of God

and the Virgin Mary.

S. Ana had Jesus

saw him born, raised,
baptised,

anointed, blessed with
the Sacraments.

Fulano, what's the
matter with you?

Olhado, quebrante, who
put it on you?

It was an olho mau.

They used two to put
it on you

I'll take it off you
with three

whether it came from
an ugly man or a

handsome one

at the time of your
going out

when you were shopping

no pagar
se foi de mofina

se foi de olho grosso
ou de olho mau.
Quem tira não sou eu

Jesus, José e Maria.

or paying
if it was caused by
mofina
or olho grosso
or olho mau.
It's not me taking it
off
but Jesus, Joseph
and Mary.

(C.6)

35

Indo aos montes das oliveiras
encontrei Nosso Senhor
ele perguntou: - Para onde
vai? -
- Vou curar olhado Senhor. -

Ele disse - Com que cura? -

- Com tua palavra, Senhor,
as onze mil virgens

os doze apóstolos
que com vós andou
até morto, ressuscitado
Senhor.
Se for na carne

se for na pele
se for nos nervos
se for no sangue
se for com dor de pontada
se for congestionada
vai para as ondas do mar
sagrado
aonde não existe galo nem

galinha
nem outro galo é de cantar.
Ave Maria, ave Maria, ave Maria

com dois te botaram

com tres eu te tiro

com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria.

On my way from the olive
groves to the mountains
I met our Lord
he asked: - Where
are you going? -
- I'm going to cure
olhado Lord. -
He said - What do you
cure with? -
- With your word, Lord,
the eleven thousand
virgins
the twelve apostles
who accompanied you
until you had died and
risen again, Lord.
Whether affecting the
flesh
or the skin
or the nerves
or the blood
causing stitch
or congestion
be gone to the waves of
the holy sea
where there is neither
cock
nor hen
nor any cock crows.
Ave Maria, ave Maria,
ave Maria
they used two to put
it on you
I'll use three to take
it off you
with the power of God
and the Virgin Mary.

(C.14)

36

Com dois te deitaram

com tres eu te tiro

They used two to put
it on you
I'll use three to take
it off you

com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria
as tres pessoas da
Santíssima Trindade.
Olhado, quebrante, mofina,
e toda parte contraria
que ninguém saiba
eu retiro com nome de Deus
Pai todopoderoso
para o maré vazante
para onde não canta gado
nem galinha
que não faça mal a criaturas
humanas.
Encontrei com São Maça
São Maça e São Marcelinho
perguntei - Com que reza
Fulano? -
- Reza com nome de Deus Pai,
Deus Filho e Deus Espírito
Santo, e as tres pessoas
da Santíssima Trindade
olhado, mofina e toda
parte contraria
que ninguém saiba.
Encontrando com Nossa Senhora,
com seu rosário na mão
eu pedi o rosário
ela me disse que não
eu tornei a pedir
ela me deu o cordão
dizendo - com você
ninguém pode fulano
só quem pode com você
é a força das tres pessoas
da santíssima Trindade
Jesus, Maria, José,
o cálix bento
e a hostia sagrada
Com nome de Deus Pai,
Deus Filho,
Deus Espírito Santo,

with the power of God
and the Virgin Mary
and the three persons
of the Most Holy Trinity.
Olhado, quebrante,
mofina,
and affliction of any
parts
which may be unknown to
anybody
I cast out in the name
of
God the Father Almighty
into the ebbing tide
to where no cattle crow
nor any hen
that no harm be done
to any
human being.
I met S. Maça
S. Maça and S. Marcelinho
I asked - With what do
you pray? -
- With the name of God
the Father,
God the Son and God the
Holy Ghost and the three
persons of the Most
Holy Trinity
olhado, mofina and all
afflictions
which may be unknown to
anyone.
Meeting Our Lady,
her rosary in her hand
I asked for the rosary
she said no
I asked again
she gave me the string
saying - no one can do
anything with you,
only
the force of the three
persons
of the most Holy Trinity,
Jesus, Mary, Joseph
the blessed chalice
and the consecrated host
in the name of the Father
God the Son
God the Holy Ghost

seja retirado todas forças
ruínas que traz consigo

que assim seja.
Se deitaram este olhado,
esta mofina pela sua direita

eu retiro pela esquerda
e se deitaram pela esquerda

eu retiro pela direita

se deitaram pelas costas
eu retiro de frente

se deitaram de frente

eu retiro pelas costas,
com nome de Deus Pai,

Deus Filho,
Deus Espírito Santo.

may all evil forces you
carry with you be
removed
amen.
If this olhado
this mofina came from
your
right hand side,
I cast it out from the
left
if from the left, I
cast out
from the right, if from
behind, I cast out from
the
front, if from the front,
I
cast out from behind,
in the name of God the
Father,
God the Son,
God the Holy Ghost.

The following prayer also invokes the assistance of the
caboclo spirit Paraguaçu this being the only case I
discovered in which the indigenous element has shown any
influence on curing prayers.

(I.2)

37

Fulano, com dois te botaram
com tres eu te tiro

com os poderes de Deus.

e da Virgem Maria
Se botaram nos olhos

se for no cabelo
se for no comer
se for no beber
se for no vestir
se for no seu desenvolvimento
da sua vida
com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria
eu te tiro este quebrante.
A estrela d'alva
que anunciou o dia

Fulano, with two they
overlooked you, with
three
I cure you, with the
power
of God and the Virgin,
If they overlooked your
eyes
hair
food
drink
clothes
progress of your life

with the power of God
and the Virgin
I remove this quebrante.
The morning star
Which announced the day

anunciai as boas palavras
 neste irmão
 retirando este olhado,
 nofina, quebrante,
 botando na maré vazante
 onde não canta nem galo nem
 galinha
 com os poderes de Deus
 e da Virgem Maria.
 Caboclo Paraguaçu
 eu vós peço
 com os poderes que Deus lhe
 deu
 com as vossas armas e flechas
 encorrente⁴¹ estes espíritos
 maus
 estes perturbados
 se for de ar de morto
 ou de parente
 ou se for mandado
 com os poderes da Virgem Maria
 vós peço para dar um passe⁴²
 e encorrentar todos esses maus.
 Deus Pai, Deus Filho,
 Deus Espírito Santo, Amém.
 Nossa Senhora da Conceição
 que lhe cubra com o vosso
 manto
 o Divino Espírito Santo
 que iluminai os seus caminhos
 louvado seja Nosso Senhor
 Jesus Cristo
 para sempre seja louvado.

speak these good words
 to this brother
 curing this olhado,
nofina, quebrante,
 putting them in the
 ebb tide
 where no cock crows
 nor any hen
 with the power of God
 and the Virgin Mary.
Caboclo Paraguaçu
 I ask you
 with the powers God
 gave you
 with your bow and arrows
 influence these evil
 spirits
 these malingerers
 be they ghosts
 or relatives
 or if they were sent
 with the power of the
 Virgin Mary
 I ask you to cleanse and
 influence these evil ones.
 God the Father, God the
 Son
 and God the Holy Ghost.
 Amen.
 Our Lady of the
 Conception
 cover you with her
 mantle
 may the divine Holy Spirit
 light your paths
 praised be our Lord Jesus
 Christ
 for ever and ever.

41 encorrentar: in spirit sessions when all the mediums are possessed they join hands and invite the sick people present to join hands with them. It is believed that a current emanating from the mediums will pass through the sick people and cleanse them. The word encorrentar is used to describe this.

42 A medium when possessed is believed to have the power spiritually to cleanse others who are present. The person concerned stands in front of the medium, exchanges a few words of greeting with the spirit possessing the medium and sometimes asks advice. Then the medium spins him round three times to the left and three times to the right, hits the soles of each foot three times, pulls each finger until the joint cracks and finally blows in each ear. The ritual is known as passe.

Amén⁴³.

Amen.

43 For other prayers for the evil eye see: Campos 1967: 122-124; Vieira Filho 1953-1954:46; Lima 1946:88-89; Maynard Araújo 1961:65-66; Nunes 1950:46; Orico 1937: 208; Paula 1952:18; Piazza 1960:122; Teixeira 1954: 88-92; Dias 1944:I, 168-169; Lis Quibén 1945:258, 310-311; Valle 1963:598.

Olbos (eyes)

Prayers for the eyes fall into four distinct categories. The first two reveal a sense of urgency and should be recited when something has become lodged unexpectedly in the eye. The reciter does not use herbs in this case but lifts the eyelid between his thumb and forefinger and gently moves it with a circular motion:

(I.2)

38

Santa Lucia passou por aqui
com o seu cavalinho comendo
capim
dei-lhe pão, disse que não
dei-lhe vinho, disse que sim⁴⁴.

S. Lucia passed this way
her little horse eating
grass
I gave her bread, she
said no
I gave her wine, she
said yes.

(S.1)

39

Corre corre cavaleiro
Pela porta de São Pedro
Diga a Santa Lucia
que me mande um lenço branco
para tirar este argueiro⁴⁵.

Make haste horseman
through São Pedro's door
Tell Santa Lucia
to send me a white
kerchief
to remove this speck
of dust.

The third type of prayer refers to Santa Lucia's three daughters:

44 For variations see Braun 1950:58-59; Cabral 1957:110; Magalhães 1966:232; Maynard Araújo 1958:140; Lira 1944:281; Teixeira 1954:97.

45 For variations see Boiteux 1944:35-36; Cabral 1957:111-112; Campos 1967:132; Costa 1907:128; Vieira Filho 1953-1954:45; Gomes 1951:191; Gouveia 1926:26; Vasconcellos 1906:III, 203; Magalhães 1966:230, 232.

(I.1)

40

Santa Lucia tinha tres filhas

uma cosia

outra fiava

e outra argueiros⁴⁶dos olhos tirava⁴⁶.Santa Lucia had 3
daughters

one sewed

one spun

and the other

removed specks of dust
from eyes.

The fourth category of prayer covers more lasting and
serious eye conditions, such as cataracts:

(C.13)

41,

E vem Santa Luzia

de noite, de dia

me mostre a vossa luz

do braço da Santa Cruz

se essa nuvem foi de água

ou alguma água contaminada

ou se for alguma bruxaria

que esta nuvem lá no céu

se conduz

com os poderes de Deus⁴⁷e da Virgem Maria⁴⁷.

S. Luzia

by day and by night

show me your light

from the arm of the

Holy Cross

if that cloud contained
water

or some kind of

contaminated water

or if it was some kind
of witchcraft

may this cloud

be carried away into
the skywith the power of God
and the Virgin Mary.

46 For variations see Maynard Araújo 1958:140. Lis Ruibén (1945:694-696, 704) mentions Sta. Lucia's three needles, the third of which she uses to take specks of dust out of the eye.

47 Cf. Nunes 1950:44.

Parto (Childbirth)

The mother shouts out the following prayer during the final stages of labour in order to be rid of the placenta:

(I.2)

42

Minha Santa Margarida
 não estou prenha nem parida
 tirai esta carne podre 48
 de dentro da minha barriga .

Santa Margarida
 I am neither pregnant
 nor delivered
 Take this rotten flesh
 From my womb .

Another type of prayer also said by the mother when in labour requests that the baby should be born before the priest finishes saying Mass.

(C.6)

43

Nossa Senhora do parto
 Vós venha me ajudar
 o padre na igreja
 está dizendo a santa Missa
 Fulana, antes de o sacerdote
 terminar
 esta criança virá
 A bendita Virgem Maria
 também vem me ajudar
 para esta criança vir
 em minhas mãos deitar
 O divino Espírito Santo subiu
 com Jesus ele foi falar
 para esta empaturenta
 logo descansar⁴⁹ .

Our Lady of the birth
 Come and help me
 the priest in the church
 is saying Holy Mass
 Before the priest
 finishes
 This child will come
 The Blessed Virgin Mary
 help me too
 help this child to come
 so I can lay him in my
 hands
 The Holy Spirit rose
 to speak to Jesus
 so that this mother in
 labour might rest.

48 For variations see Gonçalves 1938:36; Magalhães 1966:212; Campos 1967:131; Maynard Araújo 1961:217.

49 This prayer may also be worn in a patuá during pregnancy.

Queimadura (Burn)

The prayer mentions Santa Sofia and her three daughters, the last of whom is able to extinguish fire and overcome it:

(S.1)

44

Santa Sofia
tres filhas tinha
uma fiava
outra cosia
e outra a chama
do fogo extingua⁵⁰.

Santa Sofia
had three daughters
one spun
one sewed
and one quenched
the flames of the fire.

⁵⁰ For variations see Boiteux 1944:36; Paula 1951:28. Teixeira (1954:102-103) gives a version that mentions Santa Aurora instead of Santa Sofia.

Sol na cabeça (sunstroke)

A folded towel is placed over a glass full of water. Both towel and glass are then upturned and placed on top of the patient's head. As the water seeps away through the towel bubbles begin to rise in the glass and this is believed to be the water boiling as it comes into contact with the heat of the sun in the head. After the prayer the towel is shaken outside the door (I.2). This can be done at any time during the day⁵¹.

(I.2)

45

Deus quando pelo mundo andou

Muito sol e calor apanhou

Encontrou Nossa Senhora que

lhe disse

Que o sol se tiraria.

com um guardanapo de olhos
e um copo de água fria.Sim como falo verdade
torna o sol a seu lugar

esta senhora pelo mar abaixo

com o copinho d'água fria.
O mal que ele(a) tem no corpo
e na cabeça, tire-lhe

Deus e a Virgen Maria.

When God was in the
worldHe caught much sun
and heatHe met our Lady
who told himThat the sun was got
rid ofwith an eyecloth
and a glass of cold
water.As I speak the truth
this woman returns the
sunto its place beneath
the seawith a little glass of
cold waterThe evil that is in his
(her) body and head,
remove it,

God and the Virgin Mary.

51 Cf. Valle (1963:611) who says that in Gulpilhares (Portugal) it should only be done between 11 - 12 a.m., and Paula (1951:29) who says it should never be done in the morning or at midday, but only after 3 p.m.

(C.13), however, does not upturn the glass, but stands it the right way up on the patient's head. After reciting the following prayer, he makes a circle with the glass three times round the patient's head:

(C.13)

46

Deus é sol
Deus é luz
Deus é caridade (sic. claridade?)
e Deus é as tres pessoas

da Santíssima Trindade.
Esta dor de cabeça
Se foi do sol
ou se foi de sereno⁵².

God is sun
God is light
God is charity (clarity?)
and God is the three
persons
of the Holy Trinity.
This headache
If it was sun
or if it was night air.

52 For variations of the above prayers see Birnfeld 1951:60; Boiteux 1944:36; Cabral 1957:150; Campos 1967:116-118; César 1941:151; Paula 1951:29; Teixeira 1954:27. Other prayers for sol na cabeça are given by Braun 1950:57; Gouveia 1926:80-81; Teixeira 1954:26; Valle 1963:611; Vieira Filho 1953-1954:44.

Soluço (hiccups)

The patient says the following three times in one breath:

(I.8)

47

Soluço vai
soluço vem
soluço vai
para quem não tem⁵³.

Hiccups go
hiccups come
hiccups go
to someone else.

53 For variations see Braun 1950:57; Nunes 1950:46.

Torcedura, torção, torcido, desmentidura (sprains, dislocations)

The ritual that most commonly accompanies the prayers consists of the reciter symbolically sewing with a needle and thread and sometimes passing these through a piece of material held above the affected area (I.1, I.8, C.11)⁵⁴. (I.2) passes a reel of cotton with a virgin needle fixed in it round and round the affected area. After the prayer, the reel and needle should be placed near the stove, and after being used for the last time should be thrown into the ebbing tide.

(I.2)

48

O que reza Frutuoso
nervo torcido
carne quebrada
osso desconjuntado
com os poderes de Deus
e do São Frutuoso
há de chegar
este osso para o lugar
com os poderes de Deus⁵⁵
e da Virgem Maria. Amém.

What Frutuoso prays for
twisted nerves
torn flesh
dislocated bones
with the power of God
and São Frutuoso
this bone will return
to its place
with the power of God
and the Virgin Mary.
Amen.

Another method consists of blessing the affected area with three pieces of clay taken from the wall of a house (S.1, C.13) while saying the following:

54 Cf. Cabral 1957:159; Birnfeld 1951:59-60; Braun 1950:59; Campos 1967:113-114.

55 For variations see Barroso 1949:443; Boiteux 1944:35; Braun 1950:59; Cabral 1957:159; Campos 1967:113-115; César 1941:164; Lima 1946:118; Magalhães 1966:237; Nunes 1950:45; Paula 1951:29; Teixeira 1954:115-119; Valle 1963:603.

(S.1)

49

<u>Rezador:</u>	São Frutuoso	São Frutuoso
<u>Patient:</u>	Que é que reza?	What does he pray for?
<u>Rezador:</u>	Carne quebrada	Torn flesh
	Nervo torto	Twisted nerves
	Veia rendida	broken veins
	Osso quebrado	Broken bones
	Com os poderes de Deus	With the power of God
	e da Virgem Maria.	and the Virgin Mary.

(C.13)'s prayer mentions the act of sewing despite the fact that he only accompanies it by blessing with the three pieces of clay:

(C.13)

50

Eu rezo e coso	I pray and I sew
carne quebrada	torn flesh
carne machucada	bruised flesh
nervo torcido	twisted nerves
nervo rendido	broken nerves
torção	sprains
nervo torto	twisted nerves
louvado seja Senhor Fortuoso	praise be to Senhor Fortuoso
assim mesmo eu rezo	I pray just like this
assim mesmo eu coso	I sew just like this
louvado seja São Fortuoso.	praise be to São Fortuoso.

A further method involves a woman who has given birth to twins placing her foot (either left or right) on the sprain/dislocation⁵⁶. If the patient is a man, the woman must be the mother of twin girls; if a woman, the twins should be boys. The mother of the twins should accompany her act with the following prayer:

(C.7)

51

Quer que te reze	You want me to pray
	for you
de desmentidura	for a sprain
carne quebrada	torn flesh
nervo rendido	broken nerves
osso desconjuntado.	dislocated bones.

⁵⁶ Cf. Lis Quibén 1949:310.

Vento mal; Ar, Poléstia do ar (Ill wind)

Vento mal covers all sudden deteriorations in health that cannot immediately be accounted for. To a certain extent it is very similar in concept to quebranto in that it does not come as a result of an evil deliberately inflicted by one person on another. In fact many of the symptoms for vento mal are similar and often identical to those associated with quebranto (e.g. continual crying in infants; interrupted growth; general weakness; headaches; chills; sleeplessness)⁵⁷ and this accounts for the marked similarity between some of the prayers which mention quebranto and vento mal (or their synonyms) at the same time. The most serious illnesses caused by vento mal are coronary thrombosis, all forms of paralysis, other physical imperfections (such as speech defects) and mental disease⁵⁸.

The vento mal is considered literally to be a wind that carries with it misfortunes that may strike anyone at any time⁵⁹. Even a footprint can be 'atingido pelo ar'

57 Cf. Lis Quibén 1949:475-479.

58 See also Cunha 1951:9; Maynard Araújo 1961:54-55; Teixeira 1954:130; Cabral 1957:146.

59 The idea that an ill wind brings misfortunes is common to many cultures. Pardal (1937:156-157) points out how in Quechua, words for certain illnesses are based on the word for 'air' (huaira). Hence ava-huaira (epilepsy), cecho-huaira (tetanus) etc. See also Magalhães 1966:25 in this connection. Similarly, among the Nahuatl (Mexico) there is a sickness known as aire or aigre which strikes when certain spirits known as enauitos or aires blow their breath on humans (Larsen 1969:629).

(touched by the ar) and everyone is at all times vulnerable (I.3). It is therefore greatly feared and a great deal of care surrounds the recitation of prayers to counter it. (C.6) places a clove of alho macho behind each ear and blesses each of her wrists with a third clove before commencing the prayer. (S.1) makes the sign of the cross and recites the Pater Noster before the curing prayer so as to protect herself from any evil that might strike her on leaving the patient. Curing prayers for vento mal must never be recited on a Friday⁶⁰ and it is always advisable to chew a clove of garlic during recitation (C.11, S.1). The patient should be blessed with herbs first of all on the left-hand-side and then on the right (C.6). Recitation should never take place at night (I.2) nor should it be accompanied by charcoal but always by freshly picked herbs (S.1). The patient should have broken his fast before the prayer is recited (S.5).

Two of the prayers collected list the possible origins of the ar that is making the patient ill:

(C.13)

52

Em Roma São Romão foi nascido
em Roma São Romão foi batizado
Este ramo do vento

São Romão was born
in Rome
São Romão was baptised
there
This wind

⁶⁰ I was unable to ascertain why this should be so. (S.1) suggested that it was out of respect for the day in the week on which Christ died.

Que passasse no teu corpo

se foi no comer
se foi no beber
se foi no deitar
se foi no levantar
se foi tomando banho
se foi no lavar dos pés
pelo espaço
pelo rastro
pelo dia
pela tarde
pela noite
e pela hora de meiodia
com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria
jogue este vento no mar

na maré de vazante. Amém.

which has entered
your body
be it in your food
or your drink
or your rest
or your rising
or your bathing
or washing your feet
through space
through foot print
through the day
through the evening
through the night
through the noon
with the power of God
and the Virgin Mary
throw this wind in the
sea
in the ebb tide. Amen.

(C.7)

53

Maria apanha a tua luz
vá ao reino da Virgindade,

em Roma foi nascida
em Roma foi batizada
em Roma foi gerada
em Roma foi morta
em Roma foi sepultada
do pasmo
do vento
do doido
do esquecido (sic)
do espramizado (sic)
do torto
do torino (sic)
do aleijado
sai-te de aqui vento mal
vai para as ondas do mar sagrado

com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria.

Maria take your lamp
and go to the virgins'
kingdom,
born in Rome
baptised in Rome
conceived in Rome
died in Rome
buried in Rome
be it paralysis
vento
madness
-
-
deformity
-
lameness
get out, vento mal
away to the waves of
the sacred sea
with the power of God
and the Virgin.

Another embodies a conversation between the reciter
and Jesus Christ:

(C.6)

54

Eu indo para Jerusalém
 com Jesus Cristo me encontrei
 Ele me perguntou:
 - para onde vai Fulano? -
 - Senhor eu vou curar moléstia
 do ar -
 - Com que vós cura? -
 - Com um ramo Senhor -
 Ele disse - Só? -
 - Com o alho passado nos pulsos,
 Senhor
 é molestia perigosa
 mas eu não tenho medo,
 meu Salvador
 Com teu sangue eu curo
 com tua força eu devolvo

 para as ondas do mar sagrado

 ou para o vento
 assim como Cipriano curou.

Going to Jerusalem
 I met Jesus Christ
 He asked me:
 Where are you going?
 Lord, I'm going to cure
moléstia do ar
 What do you cure with?
 With a branch, Lord
 He said 'Is that all?'
 With garlic passed over
 the wrists, Lord
 it's a dangerous disease
 but I'm not afraid
 my Saviour
 I cure with your blood
 with your strength I
 drive
 out everything into the
 waves of the sacred sea
 or into the wind
 just as Cipriano cured.

The next prayer mentions cabbalistic numbers (3, 7, 14, 21)
 and colours ranging from black to white. The transition
 from black to pure white is supposed to represent a
 transition from evil to good in that as the colours become
 lighter so the evil is rejected. (Colour symbolism of
 this nature is also employed in the ritual called trabalho.
 See below, 276-277).

(S.1)

55

Senhor São Romão
 ou Manuel ou Maria
 viu a luz do vento mau
 em Egito Jesus respondeu:

- Reza filho este mau. -

Quem em Egito nasceu
 (e não foi gerado)
 morto e sepultado
 sai-te daqui vento mau.
 Vai-te para a maré de vazante
 que é aonde não passa um
 cristão
 nem o galo canta

Senhor S. Romão
 or Manuel or Maria
 saw the evil wind
 and Jesus in Egypt
 replied:
 - Pray my son against
 this evil. -
 He who was born in Egypt
 (and not created)
 dead and buried
 go out of here vento mau.
 Go to the ebbing tide
 where no Christian passes
 nor does the cock crow

nem ovelha gorgoveia⁶¹ (sic.
corveia)

com tres eu rezo
 Com sete, quatorze,
 vinte-um,
 do preto, do vermelho,
 do verde e do branco
 este mal ficará lá

para nunca mais voltar
 com nome de Nosso Senhor,
 as tres pessoas e
 a Virgem Maria
 Gloria ao Pai, ao Filho
 e ao Espírito Santo.

nor the sheep caw

I pray with three
 With seven, with fourteen
 and twenty one
 from black, red,
 green and white
 this evil will remain
 there
 never to return
 in the name of our Lord
 the three persons
 and the Virgin Mary
 Glory to the Father
 and Son
 and to the Holy Ghost.

The ill wind is also associated with minor mental disturbances in the recently bereaved. If the patient is constantly disturbed by seeing a dead relative or friend in dreams or in ghost form he is believed to be suffering from mofina or mofina de morto, and the following prayer is recited:

(C.13)

56

São João batizou Cristo
 Cristou batizou João
 Todos dois foi batizado
 lá no rio de Jordão
 Espírito de morto
 sombra de morto
 radiação de morto
 perturbação de morto

 olhos maus de morto
 mofina e quebrante de morto

 afastai de teu corpo.

São João baptised Christ
 Christ baptised João
 The two were baptised
 in the river Jordan
 Spirit of the dead
 shade of the dead
 ghost of the dead
 perturbing presence of
 the dead
 evil eyes of the dead
mofina and quebrante de
morto
 go far away from this
 body.

Ar de morto is another condition associated with the vento ral and is very much akin to mofina. However, in the case of ar de morto the patient does not see the dead person in dreams or in ghost form. It is believed

61 The verb here should in fact be baler = to bleat. See also below, 254.

that the dead person's spirit lingers near the living and distracts them, and if it is not driven away the living may become ill. The ar de morto is feared so much because of its association with the egun (spirits of the dead) who, when in possession of their mediums, constantly strive to mingle with the onlookers. It is believed that if an egun touches a living person he brings death and in Amoreiras (Itaparica) there is a constant fear of the egun not because they are evil but because they want to be reincarnated in the living. A common synonym for ar de morto is egun, as shown in the following prayer:

(I.8)

57

Santo, justo corpo de Deus
pelo sangue de Cristo
vale-me Deus
eu peço pelas cinco chagas
de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo
primeira chaga da santíssima
cabeça
foi gravada por uma coroa
de espinho
ofendendo as vossas fontes
e o sangue derramando
cobriu as vossas faces
que lavasse os pecados do
mundo
foi cravados os vossos pés
na cruz e as vossas mãos.
Foi lançado vosso santíssimo
coração com uma lança
e a vossa chaga do santíssimo

Holy and just body
of God
by the blood of Christ
so help me God
I beg by the five wounds
of our Lord Jesus Christ
the first wound of his
blessed head
was made by a crown
of thorns
offending your temples
and your blood spilt
and covered your face
that it might wash
away the sins of the
world
your feet and hands were
nailed to the cross.
Your blessed heart was
pierced with a lance
and the wounding of the

ombro esquerdo
foi a chaga mais dolorida

do corpo de Cristo
que ele sentiu.
Retire este espírito de morto

este egun, de dia, de noite,
ou hora de melodia.
Eu estou rezando teu corpo
assim como Maria Santíssima
rezou.
Incensou seu Dento Filho

para cheirar.

Rezo o teu corpo que entre o
bem e saia o mal⁶².

blessed left shoulder
was the most painful
wound
which Christ felt
in his body.
Take away this dead
man's spirit
this egun, day, night,
or noon.
I am praying over you
as Most Holy Mary
prayed.
She incensed her
Blessed Son
in order that he might
smell sweet.
I pray over your body
that
the evil may be cast out
and the good enter in.

⁶² For other prayers against the vento mal see:
Vasconcellos 1882:52-53; Boiteux 1944:42;
Magalhães 1966:35-36; Maynard Araújo 1958:137-138;
Lis Quibén 1949:474.

Ventre caído (for explanation see text below)

There is no adequate equivalent in accepted scientific medical terminology for ventre caído, but it is clear that the illness is very closely linked to the notion that sufferers have been struck by the evil eye in that many of the symptoms are similar. It only ever occurs in children who are particularly exposed to the dangers of the evil eye and symptoms are usually restlessness, sleeplessness and prolonged crying⁶³.

A common means of diagnosis consists of measuring the infant's feet one against the other to see if there is any discrepancy. If they are not equal the infant is considered to be suffering from ventre caído. (I.2 and passim). This is similar to the method of diagnosing escrinhela caída already described above (216-217) and may derive from the same source. It is also linked to the idea that overlooking (quebranto) causes stunted growth as described above (169).

The prayer should be recited over and over again while the reciter makes a cross with his thumb on the following parts of the infant's body: left palm, left elbow, right elbow, chest, navel, both knees held together, both sides of the feet held together (I.2)⁶⁴. The baby may then be lifted up into the air by the feet three times

63 Maynard Araújo (1961:221) mentions how mothers are constantly on the watch for symptoms of ventre caído in their children.

64 Cf. Lis Quibén 1949:331-332.

and the feet are made to touch the door lock or the lintel (C.7). The baby is then turned on its back and crosses again are made on the following parts of its body: back, buttocks, back of the knees pushed together, soles of the feet pushed together. It may now be lifted again to touch the lock or the lintel ⁶⁵.

(C.13)

58

Portas abertas
Frente para o mar
Ventre caído
Procura teu lugar
Com as chaves do sacrário

Teu ventre hei de levantar
com os poderes de Deus
e da Virgem Maria.

Doors open
Facing the sea
Ventre caído
Find your rightful place
With the keys of the
sanctuary
I will raise your ventre
with the power of God
and the Virgin Mary.

Another prayer associates the cure of ventre caído with the birth, death and resurrection of Christ:

(I.2)

59

Deus nasceu
Deus morreu
Deus ressuscitou
Ventre caído levantou
Com os poderes de Deus ⁶⁶
e da Virgem Maria. Amém.

God was born
God died
God rose again
He raised up ventre caído
With the power of God
and the Virgin Mary. Amen.

⁶⁵ Cf. Teixeira 1954:120.

⁶⁶ For other prayers see Amorim 1959:137; Campos 1967:122; Lis Quibén 1945:323; Taboada 1947:44; Teixeira 1954:120 - 122.

Verruga (wart)

It is commonly believed that warts originate from pointing at stars or at the moon (I.2 and passim) and, according to some, the number of warts acquired is equal to the number of stars that are pointed at (I.1, C.7, S.1)⁶⁷. A cure consists of pointing a sharp knife at a very bright star or at the moon and saying:

(I.2 and passim)

60

Estrela, lua, a minha verruga disse	Star, moon, my wart
que morras tu e viva ela,	said
	you must die and it
	must live,

The knife is then pointed at the wart and made to touch it (C.6 blesses the wart with the knife) saying:

mas eu digo que vivas tu	but I say that you
e morra ela ⁶⁸ .	must live and it
	must die.

67 Cf. Piazza 1949:17; Taboada 1947:45, 1949:113.

68 Cf. Cabral 1957:114; Magalhães 1966:217.
For other prayers for warts see Boiteux 1944:39;
Braun 1950:57; Campos 1967:131-132; Paula 1952:
17; Lis Quibén 1949:505-506.

C.

Conclusion

Prayers on the whole are based on European tradition and show little tendency to embrace influences from African and indigenous cultures, the main exception here being 37 in which the caboclo spirit Paraguacú is invoked to assist in curing the evil eye, and 57 which contains a brief reference to an egun. Other differences are purely linguistic and are based on changes being made in the words of the prayer in order to adapt to Brazilian usage. Hence for example prayers for erisipela from Portugal contain the use of the Portuguese 'tornar' (to return) as in the following examples given by Valle (1963:600, 601-602). Again, synonyms for erisipela are underlined.

Pedro Paulo foi a Roma
Jesus Cristo encontrou
E esse lhe perguntou
- Pedro Paulo que vai lá?

- Senhor muita ziela e ziulão..
- Pedro Paulo torna lá

e a talharás etc.

Pedro Paulo foi a Roma
Jesus Cristo encontrou
E ele lhe perguntou
- Pedro Paulo o que vai lá?

- Senhor: morre muita gente
com a ziela e pela má.⁶⁹
- Pedro Paulo torna lá etc.

Pedro Paulo went to Rome
and met Jesus Christ
He asked them
- Pedro Paulo what's
happening there?
- Lord, much erysipelas..
- Pedro Paulo go back
there
and cure it etc.

Pedro Paulo went to Rome
and met Jesus Christ
He asked them
- Pedro Paulo what's
happening there?
- Lord, many are dying
of erysipelas
Pedro Paulo, go back
there.

⁶⁹ Cf. Carneiro & Pires de Lima 1943:16ff.

In Brazil, however, the verb tornar tends to be found less commonly than voltar (see prayers 16 and 18).

In one example however, the language has not surrendered fully to Portuguese and continues to show slight Spanish (Galician?) influence perhaps betraying the possible Portugal/Spain border origins of the original prayer:

31

tu és o demônio
e eu te embarço
Padre, Filho e Espírito Santo .

The peculiarly oral nature of the curing prayer has led to slight corruption of certain words which in fact change the meaning of the sentence completely.

Hence Gouveia (1926:27) gives the following prayer for engasço which calls São Braz the escrivão (scribe) of Christ:

São Bráz bispo	S. Braz bishop
Escrivão de Cristo	Scribe of Christ
Obedeça	Obey
Suba ou desça.	Go up or down.

while prayer 14 refers to him as being Christ's escravo (slave). Similarly, prayer 36 (for the evil eye) refers to sending away the evil with the ebbing tide:

para onde não canta gado nem galinha
que não faça mal a criaturas humanas .

Gado here should in fact be galo (cock), to balance galinha. All other versions encountered give galo instead of gado, the only exception being Nunes (1950:46).

Some words in the prayers are unidentifiable in standard dictionaries although to the person reciting the prayer they have a most specific meaning. Hence in

prayer 10 (dor de cabeça), chiqueta and maleta refer to different types of pain that may be experienced when suffering from a headache. In prayer 53 (vento) esramisido and torino are meaningless and could not be explained by the informant. Esequecido (forgotten) is included in the same prayer but has little meaning in the context unless it is to be read as meaning loss of memory. In prayer 55 (vento) coroveia is also meaningless, first because it is a corruption of corveia (3rd person singular of corvejar: to caw, crow) and secondly because the verb balar (to bleat) should have been used in the context.

Mar sagrado (sacred sea) which appears in many of the prayers may in fact be a corrupt version of mar salgado (salty sea)⁷⁰ and in the following prayer for the evil eye given by Valle (1962:598) salt and the sacred sea are linked:

Assim como este sal
foi criado no mar sagrado

que ele seja servido
tirar este quebranto

ou mau olhado
de morto ou de vivo
ou demônio excomungado .

Just as this salt
was created in the
sacred sea
may it be good enough
to take away this
quebranto
or mau olhado
put on by dead or living
or by an excommunicated
devil.

⁷⁰ Cf. Campos (1967:117-118) who quotes Mário Ypiranga Monteiro (no details) as saying that references to the mar sagrado in prayers are 'puro candomblé'. This is doubtful since the expression does appear in curing prayers in Portugal.

Another feature of the oral style is that SS. Peter and Paul who appear in many of the prayers are looked upon as being one person. The verb governing them is almost always in the singular and they are referred to as Pedro Paulo and not Pedro e Paulo (Peter and Paul)⁷¹. This tendency for plural subjects to be governed by a verb in the singular is quite common, e.g. 56:

Todos dois foi batizado

and 57:

foi cravados os vossos pés
na cruz e as vossas mãos.

One very noticeable characteristic of many of the prayers is their close link with the science of astrology. There are many references both in the wording of the prayer and in the instructions that accompany it, to different heavenly bodies and their movement in the sky. This is probably based on the mediaeval notion that movements of the cosmos could bring sickness, therefore in the same way similar movements could bring about a cure⁷². Hence warts may disappear with the cycle of the moon as shown in the following prayer transcribed by Braun (1950:57):

Deus te salve, Lua nova
Que eu te estou vendo agora

Na outra lua que vem,
As berrugas vão embora .

God bless you, new Moon
Which I see before me
now
By the next moon
The warts will have
gone.

71 Cf. Carneiro & Pires de Lima 1943:17: 'Na linguagem familiar, a frase seja Pedro ou Paulo significa "seja quem for".' (In everyday speech the term be it Peter or Paul means 'whoever it may be').

72 See above, 76-77 and 81-82.

or by entreating a star or the moon to destroy the wart as shown in prayer 60. Toothache is also despatched in the name of the rising sun and setting moon (e.g. prayer 12) and it is considered important to recite prayers for curing espinhela caída and ventre caída at daybreak so that as the sun rises to its highest position in the sky so might it assist in raising the so-called 'fallen' matter back to its former position (I.2 and passim). The frequent references to sending away illness and all forms of evil (mal olhado, vento) with the ebbing tide is another reflection of the importance attached to the phase of the moon at a given time (see especially prayers 20, 36, 37, 55).

CHAPTER XEBÓ

A.

Various definitions have been given of the term ebó. It means principally 'sacrifice' or 'offering' and the term despachar ebó means to undertake a sacrifice of some kind with a view to ridding oneself of evil or a certain influence that may be making one ill¹. The object that is to be sacrificed must first of all be rubbed against the body in such a way that any evil or undesirable influence may pass from the body into the object. The object must then be left in a suitable place where the evil in it can dissipate without doing any harm to others. Such places are usually a crossroads, the sea at ebb tide, a river, sewer outlet or entrance to a cemetery. The objects, once used, are also referred to by the term ebó².

An individual may undertake an ebó on himself. This type of ebó will be termed 'simple' ebó. This is usually a very simple ceremony that takes place with no onlookers or assistants, on a beach at the ebb tide, on the banks of a river, or simply facing the setting sun. The individual concerned rubs the objects he has brought over his body starting from the torso and proceeding along

1 See particularly Bastide 1961:355; Querino 1955:78-79.

2 Cf. Carneiro 1936:132.

the length of each limb. The object is then cast into the water or buried directly in line with the setting sun. Objects may vary from a candle to cigars, acaçá³, bananas, chocolate and cakes. Just as it is important to leave the objects in a place where they can do no harm to others, so it is considered extremely propitious to undertake such a ritual at the end of the calendar year so that any undesirable influence affecting the individual concerned may disappear with the old year. This is particularly the case in the south of Brazil especially in Rio de Janeiro, where cult followers may be seen in their thousands making such offerings on Copacabana beach on the night of 31st December⁴. Sometimes the

3 Balls of ground maize cooked in water and wrapped in banana leaves. Lima (1946:44), quoting Sodré Viana Caderno de Xangô (no details), gives the following recipe: 'Põe-se qualquer quantidade de milho pelado (branco ou vermelho) em água fria, para amolecer. Quando está inchado passa-se na máquina, ao mais fino. Tempera-se a massa com pouco sal e vai à panela para cozinhar com água... Embrulha-se às pequenas quantidades (pouco mais de uma chicara média), em folhas verdes de bananeira e deixa-se esfriar. Serve-se nos próprios embrulhos.' (Put any quantity of maize stripped from the cob - the white or red variety - in cold water to soften it. When it is swollen, grind it at the finest setting. Season the dough with a little salt and put it in a pan with water to cook. Wrap small quantities - not much more than a medium-size cupful - in green banana leaves and let it cool. Serve wrapped in the little parcels of leaves.) Acaçá can be red or white depending on the type of milho used.

4. See St. Clair 1971:127ff. and his photographs opposite 160.

individual stands knee deep in the sea and pours over his head bottles of cachaça, wine or champagne.

The simplest form of ebó involves no sacrifice as such but merely a symbolic cleaning of the body. The individual wipes his hands over his torso, shoulders, back and legs and finally along his arms towards the wrists which should be held out in the direction of the sea. This simple ceremony is described as limparse (to cleanse oneself).

The types of ebó described so far involve the participation only of the individual concerned who may undergo this ritual either as a preventive measure to ensure that all undesirable forces are kept away, or because he feels that his body should be cleansed of a specific force of evil that may be responsible for making him ill. He may contribute to the overall effect of the ebó by taking a ritual bath, fumigating himself, applying pemba, or he might also arrange to have a sacudida. However, if the illness in question is such that it does not respond to any of this treatment, the individual concerned may have to arrange to undergo a considerably more complex ebó known also as trabalho (work) or limpeza de corpo (cleansing of the body).

B.

(i) Introductory remarks concerning the 'complex' ebó

The main difference between a 'simple' and 'complex' ebó is that the latter is always presided over and conducted by a pai or mãe de santo, and it is this presence of someone in authority that makes the 'complex' ebó an extremely powerful instrument with which to bring about a cure. The entire ritual, although basically similar to the simple ebó, is conducted on a considerably higher and more formal level. The officiating pai or mãe is dressed in ritual clothing and wears the beads of office (contas) which are believed to form an extremely close link between the wearer and the orixás they represent⁵. The ritual is accompanied by incantations and prayers that exhort the orixás to assist in bringing about a successful cure.

From the very beginning the orixás play a leading rôle in the trabalho, in that it is the orixá of the pai or mãe de santo in question who decides whether or not a patient should undergo a trabalho. Every trabalho is preceded by a consulta (consultation) that takes place between the patient and the orixá of his pai or mãe de santo. This means that the pai or mãe falls into a trance and assumes the identity of the orixá to whom he or she belongs. This orixá then speaks through the medium of

⁵ See Verger 1957:88-89; Querino 1955:76-77.
See also photographs Nos. 7 and 11.

the pai or mãe to the patient and informs him of the reason for his illness and gives him advice as to what precise action should be taken in order to overcome it.

The illness may turn out to be caused by one of three main factors:

1 queda de orixá

this term means literally 'fall of (the) orixá' and it refers to the moment when a person is possessed by his orixá for the first time⁶. This generally takes place in a cult house during a festival and the orixá concerned is usually the same as the orixá whose drum rhythm and incantations are at the time being played and sung. The person once possessed is taken directly to the camarinha (small room) and starts his initiation from that moment (C.12). However, queda de orixá is an elastic term that is also used to refer to certain other indications sent by the orixá to the person concerned that he should become initiated into the cult. These may vary from minor indispositions such as headaches or bouts of nausea to major illnesses such as smallpox (I.2).

Sometimes the queda de orixá may be looked upon as being the reason for a number of misfortunes which would cease immediately if the person concerned became initiated into the cult. (I.1) had lost two children within

⁶ People possessed for the first time are often flung to the ground by the orixá, hence queda (fall).

eighteen months of each other in household accidents and laid the blame entirely on the fact that her orixá (Yansan) was angry at her not becoming initiated into the cult. Similar stories were told by (I.8) and (C.14).

Illness may also be sent by an orixá to a person already initiated into the cult who has not kept up his ritual obligations. The illness in this case may be cured by some form of ritual offering again dictated by the orixá of the pai or mãe de santo consulted. The offering may vary from a dish of food left in the peji to the sacrifice of one or more of the animals that come under the control of the offended orixá (C.2)⁷.

2 the spirit of a dead relative or friend who remains near the living and torments them in such a way that they become ill. Such a spirit is often called an egun. It must be stressed, however, that an egun is not considered to be in any way evil, but rather just an undesirable factor that may endanger the well-being of the living.

3 the presence inside the body of an evil spirit that stops it functioning in the correct way. Such an evil spirit may be called 'um Exú' (an Exú), although as has been pointed out before, Exú the orixá is not by nature evil.

⁷ See photograph No. 19. Bastide's article (1950) should be consulted for more details concerning the cure of illness that originates in neglect of ritual or failure on the part of the patient to seek initiation into the cult.

If during the consultation the orixá identifies the patient's illness as stemming from queda de orixá he will advise that the only method of cure is initiation into the cult. The cure would then come about as the various initiatory rituals are performed. If the illness stems from neglect of ritual obligations, then the orixá consulted will dictate the precise nature of the sacrifices or offerings that should be made in order to appease the anger of the individual's orixá.

In the case of 2 and 3 however, the orixá consulted would advise that the patient should undergo a trabalho or limpeza de corpo. At the same time the orixá gives precise details as to which specific ingredients should be employed together with the exact quantities of each. Sometimes the orixá himself writes out the list of articles required as an aide-mémoire for the patient (I.2, I.4, I.5, C.2). (C.6) however mentioned that certain articles (e.g. the number of candles employed during the ritual) are standard and the orixá rarely modifies the number required. When the pai or mãe de santo comes out of the trance the patient informs him or her of the result of the consulta⁸ and must then begin to gather together all the articles required. This may take months.

⁸ The medium is not at all aware of what words were spoken when he or she was possessed.

In one trabalho witnessed, see below B(iii)1, the patient who was particularly poor had been saving the money for her trabalho for eighteen months.

The cost varies according to the size of trabalho prescribed by the orixá, but in addition to the actual cost of the ingredients the patient must also pay the pai or mãe de santo for his services, and meet the cost of what is known as dinheiro do chão (floor money).

The cost of the pai or mãe de santo's services is fixed according to the social standing of the patient but it is never below Cr\$200.00 however, and may go as high as Cr\$4,000.00⁹. This is paid before the ritual begins.

The dinheiro do chão is the payment made by the patient to the carregador do ebó (carrier of the ebó) who is a man (rarely a woman) appointed by the pai or mãe de santo to take all the ingredients after the ritual and deposit them in a suitable place. Although the dinheiro do chão is a payment made by the patient it must be handed over to the carregador do ebó not by the patient but by the pai or mãe de santo. Moreover, it cannot form part of the payment made to the pai or mãe for acting during the ritual. It must be in a separate package and should be handed to the pai or mãe well before the ritual starts and if possible the day before. Again, the dinheiro do

⁹ The average exchange rate when these figures were supplied (1973-74) was £1.00 = Cr\$15.00.

chão varies according to the size of the trabalho and the social standing of the patient but in the trabalhos witnessed (I.2, C.2) the dinheiro do chão amounted to approximately a quarter of the payment made to the mãe or pai. The dinheiro do chão is either left literally on the floor where it can be easily picked up by the carregador at the end of the ritual, or placed inside a small box on which the patient sits (C.6)¹⁰. Other alternatives are to leave the money underneath the patient's left foot (I.2) or for the pai or mãe to give it to the carregador before the ritual begins (C.2)¹¹.

(ii) A 'complex' ebó to despatch an egun

A trabalho designed specifically to rid the patient of an egun is known as trabalho (or limpeza) para discarrego de um egun. As mentioned above (125 note 17), the word discarrego should in fact be descarregamento, meaning 'unburdening', hence the full translation would

¹⁰ Before the start of an egun cult festival on the island of Itaparica it is common for one of the priests to leave a tray on the floor in front of the onlookers. Those who later in the evening are going to consult the egun spirits, place an offering on the tray. Sometimes the tray is flung into the room (where the festival is to take place) through the space under a closed door, it being believed by all present that the tray was flung by an egun. Such funds, also called dinheiro do chão, go towards the upkeep of the cult house and the elaborate costumes worn by the egun (I.4, I.5).

¹¹ See Appendix 4.

be: trabalho/limpeza to unburden (a patient) of an egun.

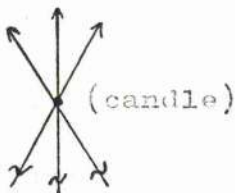
The following ritual was not witnessed since the patient requested that it should be conducted in total secrecy. It was, however, described to me afterwards by (C.6) the mãe de santo who officiated. The ritual was accompanied by incantations but (C.6) was not able to ascertain precisely what had been sung since she had conducted most of the ritual in a trance.

The ingredients in order of use were as follows:

green cabbage leaves
mustard plant leaves
okra (in one of the following quantities: 3, 7, 14 or 21)
500 grams capsicums
500 grams tomatoes
500 grams manioc flour mixed with olive or vegetable oil
500 grams maize
500 grams popcorn
9 acaçá (some red, some white)
1 live pigeon or dove.

The patient sits on a small box which contains the dinheiro do chão. The mãe de santo makes a small cross on the patient's forehead with white solid pemba and then draws three crossed swords on the floor behind the patient as in the illustration:

. (candle)
patient



The design of sword hilt is that of Yansan who alone among all the orixás in the myths was able to withstand the egun (see above, 50)¹². All the ingredients are placed on plates on the floor around the patient except the acaçá which are left to one side. The mãe then picks up handfuls of each substance in the order as given above and makes as if to wipe the substance over the patient's body. In fact, she never touches the patient, but working down from the head to the feet, allows each handful to drop on to the floor. The pigeon or dove is always the last item to be passed over the patient, but this should be done with extreme care so as not to injure it. The carregador do ebó places all the ingredients in an earthenware bowl known as an alguidar and takes them together with the pigeon and the acaçá to a crossroads. The alguidar is left on the side of the road at the crossroads and the dove, clearly a representation of the spirit that has been tormenting the patient, is set at liberty, and allowed

¹² Ogun's sword hilt is always as follows:



Ogun and Yansan are easily distinguished in this way.

to fly away¹³. The carregador do ebó then returns to the scene of the ritual wiping the acaçá over his own body as he returns. He should return by a different route and not look behind him. He takes these precautions so that none of the undesirable forces should affect him.

Directly after the trabalho the patient takes an abó and is then fumigated by the mãe with a mixture of incense and various herbs that attract forces of good. The patient must observe certain taboos such as remaining de corpo limpo for at least three days and refraining

13 The soul or spirit in the form of a bird is a common symbol in many religions: 'Often the soul is conceived as a bird ready to take flight. This conception has probably left traces in most languages, and it lingers as a metaphor in poetry. The Malays carry out the conception of the bird-soul in a number of odd ways. If the soul is a bird on the wing, it may be attracted by rice, and so either prevented from flying away or lured back again from its perilous flight. Thus in Java when a child is placed on the ground for the first time (a moment which uncultured people seem to regard as especially dangerous), it is put in a hencoop and the mother makes a clucking sound, as if she were calling hens. And in Sintang, a district of Borneo, when a person, whether man, woman, or child, has fallen out of a house or off a tree, and has been brought home, his wife or other kinswoman goes as speedily as possible to the spot where the accident happened, and there strews rice, which has been coloured yellow, while she utters the words "Cluck! cluck! soul! So-and-so is in his house again. Cluck! cluck! soul!" Then she gathers up the rice in a basket, carries it to the sufferer, and drops the grains from her hand on his head, saying again, "Cluck! cluck! soul!" Here the intention is clearly to decoy back the loitering bird-soul and replace it in the head of its owner.' (Frazer 1922 1st ed. 1971:239)..

from eating any of the ingredients used in the trabalho for a similar period.

(iii) A 'complex' ebó to despatch an Exú

A trabalho designed specifically to rid the patient of an Exú is known as trabalho (or limpeza) para descarrego de um Exú (trabalho/limpeza to unburden [a patient] of an Exú)¹⁴. Because Exú is immediately associated with evil, various rituals must precede the trabalho so as to ensure success. In this sense, a trabalho to rid the body of an Exú is somewhat more complicated than the one just described which rids the body of an egun. First the pai or mãe de santo must conduct the ritual known as o despacho da porta (for description see above, 153). This is followed by fumigation of the premises starting first with substances to repel forces of evil, and then substances designed to attract forces of good. This fumigation ceremony is accompanied by incantations (given above, 114ff.). Each person present is fumigated individually, the censer on both occasions being passed beneath each armpit.

Two trabalhos of this nature were witnessed and a third was described after the event, again by (C.6). Trabalhos 1 and 3 involved just one patient, while 2 involved three. Ingredients in order of use were as follows:

¹⁴ Again, in this instance, descarrego should read descarregamento, meaning unburdening.

(I.2)

1

1 dish full of mixed raw vegetables
 (including cooking bananas, capsicums,
 tomatoes, aubergines) chopped up
 1 rag doll and needle and cotton
 cigars (in one of the following quantities:
 3, 5, 7, 9, 14, 21)
 approximately 1 sq. metre each of plain black,
 red and white cloth
 500 grams black beans
 500 grams 'garlic' maize (milho de alho)
 500 grams white beans
 500 grams popcorn
 500 grams white maize (milho branco) cooked
 5 acaçá
 1 live cockerel preferably dark in colour
 2 reels white cotton
 gunpowder

(C.2)

2

3 reels white cotton
 manioc flour mixed with dendê oil/cachaça/water
 7 large okra
 3 raw eggs
 approximately 1 sq. metre each of plain
 black, red and white cloth
 7 cigars
 1 kilo toasted maize (milho torrado)
 7 acaçá (red and white)
 3 banana leaves
 3 sprigs vassourinha de Nossa Senhora } for
 7 sprigs coerana } sacudida
 1 cockerel (colour not important)
 gunpowder

(C.6)

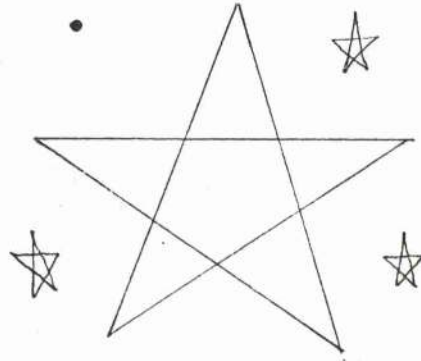
3

3 cotton reels (black, red, white)
 manioc flour mixed with dendê oil/cachaça/water
 1 bottle cachaça
 7 cigars
 1 litre black beans
 1 litre manioc flour
 1 litre 'garlic' maize (milho de alho)
 1 kilo maize flour
 1 kilo rice
 1 kilo popcorn
 1 cockerel (preferably black or red and black)

In each case certain cabbalistic signs were drawn on the floor with pemba. The sign for 3 was identical to that given above in B.(ii) and those for the other two were as follows:

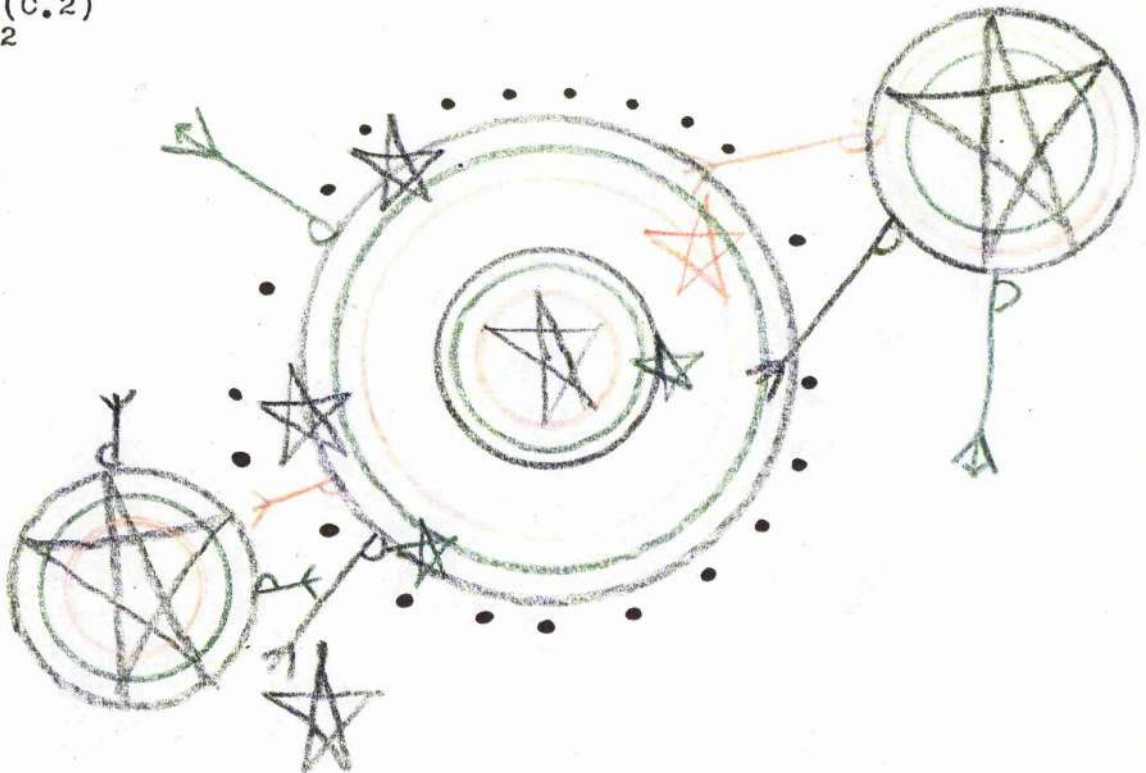
(I.2)

1



(C.2)

2



[— = white pemba]

[• = candle]

(C.2) mentioned how the sign he chooses varies with each trabalho he performs but he always uses the same three colours (white, green, red) and a combination of the pentangle, circle and arrow-like design reproduced here.

The different coloured pembas used in 2 are significant in that green is the colour of Oxossi who is the orixá who controls the pai de santo in question. The pai always includes Oxossi's colour in trabalhos of this nature since he feels it is his duty to invoke the assistance of his orixá before all others. Red is the colour of Yansan who is considered by this particular pai to be very efficacious in driving away not just an egun but also an Exú. In fact, we shall see in B.(iv) below (see especially Nos. 8 and 36) that the terms are confused and that the egun and Exú are given virtually the same identity. A similar confusion is made by (C.6) who uses the same sign (the three crossed swords of Yansan) to drive away both the egun and Exú. All three informants (I.2, C.2, C.6) were able to distinguish between egun and Exú the main criterion being that the former is not considered to be by nature malicious, but (I.2) and (C.2) admitted that they follow precisely the same ritual in both cases. (C.6) however, conducted separate, albeit similar, rituals despite the identical chalked sign in both cases¹⁵.

¹⁵ Confusion such as this between the egun and Exú is very typical in Candomblé de caboclo but never found in the traditional seitas.

In all cases, candles were set up and lit all round the patient(s), one being placed outside the peji or house in honour of Exú (the orixá as opposed to the evil spirit) while all the others were placed round the signs on the floor as shown in the illustrations. In the case of 3 the candles numbered eight as opposed to two in the trabalho para descarrego de um egun already described (see B.(ii) above), the additional six being positioned in a circle around the sign and the patient. The candle given to Exú should be the first withdrawn from the packet and should be lit and positioned outside before any other preparations for the ritual are made. This is linked to the notion behind the pade de Exú in which, according to myth, Exú should be honoured first before any ritual commences (see above, 88 note 7). (I.2) made the customary food offering to Exú (manioc flour with dendê oil, cachaça and water respectively) at the same time as lighting the candle, while (C.2) and (C.6) included the same three mixtures of manioc flour among the first ingredients to be symbolically wiped over the patient.

In cases 1 and 2 the patient(s) stood in the centre of the sign while in case 3 the patient stood just in front of the tips of the swords.

In each case the pai or mãe de santo took handfuls of all the ingredients and symbolically wiped them over the patients' bodies, starting at the head and going

down to the feet, and then dropping the ingredients on to the floor. Ingredients such as the okra, cigars, cotton reels (see also below) cloth and acaçá were broken or cut into pieces after having been passed over the patient's body, thus symbolising the destruction of the evil spirit (see photograph No. 10). The rag doll was trampled beneath the patient's left foot and then torn in two pieces. Even the candles gathered up at the end of the trabalho were broken before being included with the rest of the ingredients and taken away by the carregador do ebó.

All three cases included the use of cotton reels. (C.6) employed three reels of different colours at the very beginning to test if the trabalho could be performed successfully. The patient stood with legs apart and the mãe bent down in front of her and handed the thread of each reel through the patient's legs to her assistant standing behind the patient. The assistant then pulled all the threads at the same time while the mãe allowed the reels to unwind in her hands. It was believed that if the black thread turned out to be longer than the other two, then the trabalho should be put off until another day.

(C.2), at the very beginning of the ritual, wound three entire cotton reels (white) round the bodies of the three patients, and at the end of the ritual cut the cotton away, thus symbolically cutting away the evil

influence that had made them ill. (I.2's) method was similar in that she first symbolically wiped the three white cotton reels over the patient's body and then unwound each reel, breaking the thread at intervals.

Each case included the use of a cockerel as a scapegoat. The patient held it in such a way as to be able to approach the cock's beak to his mouth. The patient then spoke very softly to the cockerel, telling it to take away all the harmful forces of evil and to leave his body free of illness. After this, the pai or mãe symbolically wiped the cockerel over the patient's body and then proceeded to sacrifice it. The patient and all the onlookers had to turn their backs on the scene. Each wing and leg were washed and then broken before the cockerel was killed, either by cutting with a knife just below the beak (I.2, C.2) or by pushing the knife forwards through a freshly-picked folha da Costa. A cockerel sacrificed with a backwards thrust of the knife would not be accepted by Exú (C.6). (C.2) specified that the knife should be brand new and subsequently taken away with the other ingredients.

(I.2) and (C.2) both mentioned that sacrifice of the cockerel would still take place even if the trabalho was being conducted for the specific purpose of driving away an egun, while (C.6) saw the element of sacrifice as being the main difference between the two different

types of trabalho (N.B. how the pigeon as described in B.(ii) conducted by [C.6] was not sacrificed). (C.6) remarked: 'O egun não deve beber sangue - é perigoso' (the egun must not drink blood - it is dangerous).

Her insistence on this point is another example of the way Candomblé de caboclo at times differs quite radically from traditional practices. Cockerels, hens and at times goats, are sacrificed and then cooked just before egun festivals (all of which is traditional practice) on the island of Itaparica, in order to ensure that the egun, when in possession of their mediums, may eat. On one occasion observed, the egun in question refused to give advice to an enquirer until a cockerel had been sacrificed in proper ritual fashion. Lima (1946:82) recounts how one cockerel was killed actually by an egun:

Apareceu sob a forma duma nebulosa, por vezes se confundindo com as árvores, e, ao chegar ao local em que se encontrava o galo destinado à matança, foi diminuindo de volume até cair sobre a ave indefesa, ouvindo-se apenas o grito do galo que morria. E do mesmo modo como havia chegado, desapareceu. Neste galo, ninguém mais toca. (quoted by Bastide 1961:172).

Pieces of plain black, red and white cloth were symbolically wiped over the patient in cases 1 and 2. After use each piece with the exception of the white which was left in tact, was held above the patient's head and torn into strips. Both informants (I.2) and (C.2) pointed out the apparent colour symbolism here, in

that the colour black was supposed to attract to it the majority of the evil influence in the patient's body with red attracting the remainder. White represented the ensuing pure state of the body. Neither informant associated the colour red in this instance with Yansan.

There is a certain amount of colour symbolism also in the order in which the different foods are passed over the body. The darker-coloured foods tend to be used first, followed by the lighter ones, the change in the patient's state that is taking place being represented by a gradual change in the colour of the ingredients being used.

The transformation in the patient is also symbolised by using raw ingredients to wipe over the patient's body followed by cooked ingredients. Hence popcorn, white maize and toasted maize and the acaçá are left till all the other edible raw ingredients have been used. Sometimes this criterion is linked to that of colour: in cases B.(ii) and B.(iii) 2, the red acaçá should be used before the white, because it is cooked and is a deeper colour than the white acaçá.

Gunpowder was employed on all three occasions. (I.2) placed small heaps around the patient, (C.2) laid a continuous line of gunpowder all around the three patients and (C.6) sprinkled gunpowder along the outline of the sign drawn on the floor and clapped three times saying:

Só solta pemba¹⁶

quem sabe soltar.
Só caça no mato

quem sabe caçar
Exú é, Exú é, Exú é¹⁷.

Pemba is only
sprinkled
by those who know how.
Only those who know
how
hunt in the bush.
Exú é, Exú é, Exú é.

A sacudida with herbs (vassourinha de Nossa Senhora, banana and coerana) took place in only one of the trabalhos witnessed (2) and after use each sprig was broken in three places and included with all the other ingredients that were later taken away.

In cases 1, 2 and 3, the patient was made to take an abó bath at the very end of the ceremony. (I.2) insisted that the patient should run from the room where the trabalho had taken place without looking back. While the patients bathed, the carregador came and took away all the ingredients that had been employed during the ritual. On returning from the abó the patients were fumigated, first with substances to repel all evil, and then with other substances designed to attract forces of good. Pemba was then applied.

(iv) Prayers and incantations employed in the 'complex' ebó

(I.2) and (C.2) accompanied the entire ritual with the prayers and incantations transcribed below. (C.6)

16 Pemba here refers to pemba preta, assumed by the mãe to be the cause of the patient's illness.

17 The cry of salutation of Exú.
See photograph No. 12.

however, was again unable to supply this information as she had conducted most of the ritual in a trance.

Brief mention is made of the stage the ritual had reached at the time of each transcription.

(I.2)

1

(mixed vegetables, rag doll, cigars)

sacolé sacolé gim gim*

2

(cloth, black beans, 'garlic' maize)

sacuendecué sacuendecué*

3

(white beans, popcorn, white maize, acaçá)

sacanené taté*

4 (cotton reel)

Padre de Roma
Ogun rendeiro
o que vem fazer aqui?

tres ficaram lá
e quatro vêm gritando¹⁸
xé trúa, xé trúa, xé trúa*

Father of Rome
Ogun the lacemaker
What has he (i.e. Exú)
come to do here?
Three stayed there
and four came shouting
xé trúa, xé trúa,
xé trúa

5 (fumigation)

Graças a Deus
ara meu Deus
louvado seja Deus
ara meu Deus
Bendito (sic) seja a hora
ara meu Deus
em que Ogun nasceu
ara meu Deus.

Thanks be to God
oh my God
Praise be to God
oh my God
Blessed be the hour
oh my God
in which Ogun was born
oh my God.

¹⁸ These numbers may be interchanged.

This incantation is repeated with the name of another orixá substituting Ogun on each occasion. The last verse goes as follows:

Bendito (sic) seja a hora
ara meu Deus
em que todos
os orixás nasceram
ara meu Deus.

Blessed be the hour
oh my God
in which all
the orixás were born
oh my God.

6 (fumigation)

O bendito seja o vale
o vale mi Maria
o bendito seja o vale
o vale mi Maria
oyu pé pé pé*
oyu pé pé pá
oyu pé pé pé
o caboclo Maionga¹⁹.

Blessed be the valley
the valley, Mary
blessed be the valley
the valley, Mary
oyu pé pé pé
oyu pé pé pá
oyu pé pé pé
the caboclo Maionga

7 (end of ritual)

Louvado seja Nosso Senhor
Jesus Cristo
louvado seja Nosso Senhor
Jesus Cristo
A paz de Deus
esteja com todos.

Blessed be our Lord
Jesus Christ
Blessed be our Lord
Jesus Christ
the peace of God
be with all.

(C.2) (opening prayer before commencement of ritual)
8

Abrir os caminhos daqueles
que necessitam a caridade
e que as portas do bem
estejam abertas para todos,
e Aruanda,
a corrente dos astres,
e a corrente das águas
e a corrente das matas²⁰ virgens

Open the ways of all
those
who are in need of
charity
and may the doors of
goodness
be open to all,
and Luanda,
may the current of the
stars,
the current of the
waters
and the current of the
virgin jungle

19 Another caboclo spirit. See above, 58.

20 The pai here is requesting the additional power of the stars, water and the jungle to assist him in bringing about a cure. This particular informant (C.2) conducted further rituals after the trabalho embodying these three additional elements. This is described below (see 290ff.).

circularem esses filhos
 para librar-lhes
 de todas as perseguições,
 bruxaria, feitiçaria,
 malefício, espíritos pertur-
 badores,
 que não de ser encorrentados
 no corrente do Jordão.
 Em nome de Deus todo-poderoso,
 em nome do glorioso Santo
 Antonio,
 e Oxalá, e Obaluayé,
 Ogun Pati-Curi²¹ com toda
 sua falange
 cercar esses filhos
 em nome de Deus todo poderoso.
 Que assim seja.
 Em nome de Deus todo poderoso,
 em nome das falanges
 do Divino Espírito Santo
 en nome dos correntes
 de Umbanda e da Aruanda
 eu corto e anulo
 todas as perseguição (sic)
 espíritos perturbadores,
 bruxaria, feitiçaria,
 malefício, ou se de Exú
 ou se de egun
 eu encorrento e eu expulso
 desses corpos para a corrente
 do Jordão.

pass through these
 children
 that they might be rid
 of all persecutions,
 witchcraft, sorcery,
 evil-doing, phantoms,
 let all these be
 swept away
 in the current of the
 Jordan.
 In the name of Almighty
 God,
 in the name of the
 glorious
 S. Antonio,
 Oxalá, Obaluayé,
 Ogun Pati-Curi with all
 his phalanx
 let these children be
 surrounded
 in the name of Almighty
 God.
 So be it.
 In the name of Almighty
 God,
 in the name of the
 phalanxes
 of the divine Holy
 Spirit
 in the name of the
 currents
 of Umbanda and Luanda
 I cut and anull
 all persecutions
 phantoms,
 witchcraft, sorcery,
 evil-doing, be it by
 an Exú
 or an egun
 I encircle and expel
 from these bodies and
 loose
 them in Jordan's
 current.

21 Another title for Ogun.

Em nome de Deus todo poderoso
 eu peço à corrente dos astres
 para que ampare esses filhos
 de Oxalá.
 e de Obaluayé, de Ogun Pati
 Curi
 com toda sua falange,
 caboclo Boiadeiro
 caboclo Jurema
 encorrentador dos perturbados,
 caboclo Sultão das Matas²²
 encorrentador de todos os
 perturbados,
 encorrentarem com a corrente
 do Jordão
 tudo que tiver no corpo
 desses filhos.
 Em nome de Deus todo poderoso,
 e que assim seja.

9 (pai lays hands on patients' heads)

Abaluayé atoto meu pai
 Abaluayé ajudai meu pai
 Abaluayé
 Babalorixá é²³.

The pai then shouts:

Atoto, Babá²⁴
 atoto, Babá .

10 Encontra um velho no caminho

e toma bença
 benção de Deus, Abaluayé
 me dé licença.

In the name of Almighty
 God
 I beg the current of
 the stars
 to shelter these
 children
 of Oxalá,
 of Obaluayé, Ogun Pati-
 Curi
 and all his phalanx,
caboclo Boiadeiro
caboclo Jurema
 guardian of phantoms,
caboclo Sultão das
 Matas
 guardian of all
 phantoms,
 and to carry away in
 Jordan's current
 all that may be in the
 bodies
 of these children.
 In the name of Almighty
 God,
 so be it.

Abaluayé atoto my
 father
 Abaluayé help, my
 father
 Abaluayé
 Is a babalorixá.

Meet an old man on the
 road
 and take his blessing
 God's blessing, Abaluayé
 give me your permission.

- 22 Boiadeiro, Jurema and Sultão das Matas are caboclo spirits.
 See above, 53.
 23 Babalorixá: pai de santo.
 24 Cry of salutation for Abaluayé.

- 11 Aé Babá já chegou Baobinaó²⁵
Já chegou Baobinaó

já chegou Baobinaó Babá²⁶.

Aé Babá has arrived
Baobinaó has arrived
now
Father Baobinaó has
arrived.

- 12 Ai papai Abaluayé
peço pela vossa coroa
peço pelo amor de Deus

não deixar seus filhos à toa.

Oh Papa Abaluayé
I beg by your crown
I beg by the love for
God
that you leave not your
children in vain.

The pai then shouts:

Atoto, Babá

- 13 Para que chamar O-Abaluayé
Chereguedé*
O meu pai O-Abaluayé
Chereguedé
O meu avô O-Abaluayé

Chereguedé
O meu padrinho Obaluayé
Chereguedé
O meu irmão Obaluayé
Chereguedé
O meu tio Obaluayé
Chereguedé.

Why call Abaluayé
Chereguedé
Oh my father Abaluayé
Chereguedé
O my grandfather
Abaluayé
Chereguedé
O my godfather Obaluayé
Chereguedé
Oh my brother Obaluayé
Chereguedé
Oh my uncle Obaluayé
Chereguedé.

- 14 Viva Obaluayé, tatá*
Das ondas do mar, tatá

Veio arrancar raiz, tatá

Para os seus filhos curar, tatá.

Long live Obaluayé
from the waves of the
sea
He's come to pull up a
root
To cure his children.

- 15 Viva Obaluayé de caboclo²⁷

Quem mangar com ele fica louco.

Long live Obaluayé the
caboclo
Whoever meddles with
him ends up mad.

25 An affectionate term of address for Abaluayé.

26 Babá (Yoruba): father.

27 An example of how a traditional African orixá can be fused with a caboclo spirit, calling itself 'Obaluayé de caboclo'.

The pai then shouts:

Atoto Babá.

16 (cotton wrapped round the patients)

Omólú kebelujá
kwelê kwelê jombalá (bis)
Omólú kebelujá*

17 Cortar²⁸ todos os obstáculos
quebrando todas as forças
de bruxaria e feitiçaria,

malefícios, com a força
do Divino Espírito Santo
com as forças de Abaluayé
cortando, separando e anulando
todas as forças do mal
hão de ser cortados

do corpo desses filhos
para o bem lhes cercar.
Meu pai Obaluayé,
meu pai babalorixá,²⁹
Oxalá e Nanã Buru²⁹
do mar sagrado,
vamos cortar os obstáculos.

Cut away all obstacles
breaking down all the
forces of witchcraft
and

sorcery, evil-doing
with the power of the
Holy Spirit, Abaluayé
cutting, setting apart
and annulling all the
forces of evil which
must

be cut out of the bodies
of these children that
good may surround them.
My father Abaluayé
Oxalá and Nanã Buru
of the sacred sea
let us cut away all
obstacles.

18 (manioc flour with dendê, cachaça and water)

E Ogun é
é tatá que malembé
é Ogun é
é tatá que malembé*.

19 Senhor Ogun, Senhor Ogun
Senhor Ogun é rei do mar

Chegou caboclo Sete Estrelas³⁰

Mas ele veio trabalhar.

Senhor Ogun, Senhor Ogun
Senhor Ogun is king of
the sea

Caboclo Sete Estrelas
is here,
but he's come to work.

28 Despite references to cutting in this prayer, the cotton is not actually cut by the pai until towards the end of the trabalho. See below, 287.

29 Another title for Nanã. See Verger 1957:274, 280-281.

30 Another caboclo spirit. See above, 58.

- 20 Senhor, Ogun, Senhor Ogun
 Senhor Ogun nunca faltou
 Senhor Ogun é um filho
 abençoado
 E que Jesus abençoou.
 Senhor Ogun, Senhor Ogun
 Senhor Ogun's never
 failed
 Senhor Ogun is a blessed
 son
 Blessed by Jesus.
- 21 Senhor Ogun, Senhor Ogun
 Senhor Ogun nunca faltou
 Senhor Ogun é dos primeiros
 que nesta aldeia chegou³¹
 - Eu Ogun guerreiro
 não nego meu natural;
 sou filho das águas claras
 sou neto de Yemanjá-.
 Senhor Ogun, Senhor Ogun
 Senhor Ogun's never
 failed
 Senhor Ogun is one of
 the
 first who arrived in
 this village
 - I Ogun the warrior,
 am
 not one to deny my
 origins;
 I'm a son of the clear
 waters,
 and grandson of Yemanjá.
- 22 Abriu teus caminhos
 Ogun e o Velho Abaluayé
 A tua felicidade
 Ogun guerreiro é quem vai
 trazer
 Boiadeiro é quem vai
 trazer
 Oxalá é quem vai
 trazer.
 Your paths were opened
 by Ogun and Old Abaluayé
 Your happiness will come
 with
 Ogun the warrior
 with Boiadeiro
 with Oxalá.
- 23 Ogun goró gosí
 Da-me na jó*
 Eu peço a Olorun
 Da-me na jó
 Ogun goró gosí
 give me na jó
 I ask Olorun
 give me na jó.
- 24 (okra)
 Ele é rei dos astres
 trabalha com São Jeromi
 pelo ronco do trovão
 ele chama Xangô locoyá
 (or) Xangô muí*
 He is the king of the
 stars
 he works with São Jeromi
 with a thunderclap
 he calls Xangô locová
 (or) Xangô muí

31 Aldeia (village) is also used to designate a cult house.

- 25 Minha Santa Bárbara
de belas coroas

pelo amor de Deus,
Santa Bárbara,
não deixe seus filhos a toa.

Epa hei
kawó Xangôkabiyesi le³².

My Santa Bárbara
with your beautiful
crowns
for the love of God
Santa Bárbara
do not abandon your
children.
Epa hei
kawó Xangôkabiyesi le.

- 26 (cloth)

Oxalá é pai
da Ruanda é
pai da misericórdia
da Ruanda .

Oxalá is the father
of Luanda
father of mercy
of Luanda .

- 27 meu pai Oxalá
me ajude a trabalhar
Oxalá é rei do céu,
rei da terra
e rei do mar .

my father Oxalá
help me to work
Oxalá is king of heaven
king of the earth
and king of the sea.

- 28 Olha a folha da mangueira,
Oxalá,
como o vento vai levando pra
o mar
mas olha eu,
Oxalá,
se meu caboclo foi-se embora
eu vou buscar .

Look at the mango leaf
Oxalá,
look how the wind carries
it to the sea,
but look at me
Oxalá
if my caboclo goes away
I'll go in search .

- 29 (cigars)

Salve Naná, salve
salve às grandezas de
Obaluayé
Obaluayé, Obalorixá
salve às grandezas do
Velho Oxalá .

Hail Naná, hail
hail to the greatness of
Obaluayé
Obaluayé, Obalorixá
hail to the greatness
of Old Oxalá .

- 30 E de Naná
euá euá euá eué*

It belongs to Naná
euá euá euá eué

- 31 Mãe Naná é mãe
do mundo inteiro
Mãe Naná é mãe
do mundo em geral.

Mother Naná is the mother
of the whole world
Mother Naná is mother
of all the world.

- 32 Cry of salutation for Xangô. Xangô and Yansan (St. Barbara) are closely linked in their functions as orixás hence Xangô is mentioned in this manner at the end of an incantation dedicated to St. Barbara.

32 (cutting cotton)

Eu peço aos vinte-um orixás
para trabalhar para estas filhas

para anular
todas estas perseguição,
feitiçaria, bruxaria.
Eu corto e anulo
com a força do divino

Espírito Santo
para deixar aqueles corpos
limpos como a Virgem Maria

limpou o corpo do seu
Bento Filho.
Vou limpar esses corpos

retirando todos os malefícios
todos os espíritos perturbadores
todos os mal (sic) que
tiverem nos seus caminhos,
eu corto e anulo isto tudo,
em nome de Deus todo poderoso

que Oxalá tome conta
dessas filhas
Naná, em nome de Deus

Oxossi, toda a corrente

dos astres
e a corrente das águas
a corrente das matas virgens

a corrente de Obaluayé
a corrente de Oxossi e
Yansan
retirando de teu corpo
todas as feitiçarias,
malefícios,
em nome de Oxalá, Ogun

e Obaluayé, e Naná Buruku
nas ondas do mar sagrado.

E a corrente do Jordão
vai encorrentar todos
os mal (sic) que estiver
no corpo desses filhos.

Em nome de Deus todo poderoso.

Que assim seja.
Oxalá dai-me a paz.

I ask the 21 orixás
to work for these
daughters
to anull
all kinds of persecution,
sorcery and witchcraft.
I cut and anull
with the force of the
divine
Holy Spirit
to leave these bodies
clean as the Virgin
Mary
cleansed the body
of her Blessed Son.
I'm going to cleanse
these bodies
removing all evil
all maleficent phantoms
all evils
blocking their paths,
I cut and anull all this,
in the name of Almighty
God
may Oxalá take care
of these daughters
Naná, in the name of
God
Oxossi, the whole
current
of the stars
and of the waters
the current of the virgin
jungle
the current of Obaluayé
the current of Oxossi
and Yansan
removing from your body
all sorcery,
and evil,
in the name of Oxalá,
Ogun
Obaluayé and Naná
Buruku
in the waves of the
sacred sea.
And Jordan's current
will sweep away
all the evil that may be
in the bodies of these
children.
In the name of Almighty
God
So be it.
Oxalá grant me peace.

- 33 Quem te amarrou
que te solte .
- 34 Eu vim tirar o ebó
que foi Nanan que mandou
foi um trabalho bem feito
para a moça fazer ebó.
Ebó ela não faz
ebó não é de fazer
que tem Obaluayé³³
para a ela socorrer.
- 35 (gunpowder and sacudida)
- A estrêla do mar
é barra fora
vamos mandar este egun
daqui para fora
A estrêla do mar
é barra fora
vamos mandar este Exú
daqui para fora
A estrêla do mar
é barra fora
vamos mandar este sofrimento
daqui para fora
A estrêla do mar
é barra fora
vamos mandar este perseguição
daqui para fora
A estrêla do mar
é barra fora
vamos mandar esta usura
daqui para fora
A estrêla do mar
é barra fora
vamos mandar este espírito mal
daqui para fora.
- Who tied you up
must also untie you .
- I came for an ebó
according to Nanan's
orders
the work was done well
for the girl to have
an ebó.
She is not having an
ebó
no ebó is needed
for she has Obaluayé
to succour her.
- The star of the sea
is far out on the
horizon
let us send this egun
out as well
The star of the sea
is far out on the
horizon
let us send this Exú
out as well
The star of the sea
is far out on the
horizon
let us send this
suffering
out as well
The star of the sea
is far out on the
horizon
let us send this
persecution
out as well
The star of the sea
is far out on the
horizon
let us send this usury
out as well
The star of the sea
is far out on the
horizon
let us send this evil
spirit out as well.

³³ Obaluayé may be substituted by Sr. Oxossi or Ogun.

36 (carregador removes the ebó)

Vai levar o bodum

Exú ke-re-ke-re*.

He is going to take away
the smell

Exú ke-re-ke-re .

- 37 O santo Antonio
amarra o nego
O lá no caminho
O Santo Antonio
amarra o nego
O não deixa vir.

O Santo Antonio
tie the fellow up
O on his way
O Santo Antonio
tie the fellow up
O don't let him come .

38 (fumigation)

Nossa Senhora incensou
seu Bento Filho
incensou foi para cheirar
Mas eu incenso
eu incenso esses filhos
para o mal sair

e a felicidade entrar .

Our Lady incensed
her Blessed Son
to smell sweet
but I incense
these children
that the evil may go
out
and happiness enter .

- 39 Sai mal destes corpos.
Estes corpos são da Virgem Maria.

Assim como a Virgem Maria
incensa seu Bento Filho

para cheirar,
assim incenso meus filhos

para afastar todos os mal,

(sic)

e os bons lhes cercar.

Em nome de Deus todo poderoso

e da corrente dos astres
e das águas.

Na barquinha de Noé eu entrei
Com a chave do sacrário

eu te tranquei.

Evil, leave these bodies.
These bodies belong to
the Virgin Mary.

As the Virgin Mary
incenses her Blessed
Son
that he may smell sweet,
so I incense my
children
to drive all evil far
away,

and to attract good
all about them.
In the name of Almighty
God
the current of the stars
and of the waters.
I went into Noah's ark
And locked you in with
the
key of the sanctuary.

C.

(i) Limpeza dos astres

(I.2) and (C.6) both considered the 'complex' ebó (trabalho, limpeza de corno) to be the most powerful and effective way of combating undesirable forces that may make a person ill. (C.2) however, looked upon the 'complex' ebó as being one of a series of rituals that, if conducted in unison, constituted an infallible method of treatment. The ebó should, in his opinion, be followed by three further rituals if it is to succeed.

The pai de santo should hold a sessão espírita (spirit session), preferably on the same day as the trabalho, as a preliminary to the ritual known as limpeza dos astres (cleansing by the stars). As many mediums as possible associated with the cult house attend and sit together round a table. The colour of their clothes should normally be white but sometimes, particularly if the sessão coincides with a feast day, some of the mediums may wear a shirt and/or a dress of the colour usually associated with their orixá. It is customary for the pai to issue each medium with a short white overall tied at the back with a belt and a white linen cap³⁴ and these may be discarded during possession in favour of clothing more suited to the orixá in question. There are usually one or two candles alight on the table, various vases of flowers

³⁴ See photograph No. 4.

(usually chinchirincee and/or white roses) and in front of the pai a copo de vidência. This is a glass containing different coloured stones and an aluminium cross, and filled with clear water. The pai uses it periodically during the sessão for divination and may use the water inside it for washing the faces of those present, particularly those that are to be cured.

The mediums and patients sit round the table in such a way that each patient has a medium on either side. The presidente exhorts everybody to be silent and to concentrate on attracting good spirits, known as irmãos de luz (brothers of light) or espíritos to the table. Although the spirits are referred to by both these terms, however, they invariably turn out to be familiar orixás or caboclo spirits, and I never witnessed a medium being possessed by an unfamiliar spirit when the primary purpose of the sessão was that of curing³⁵. When all the mediums are possessed the pai (also possessed) instructs everyone at the table to hold hands so that the corrente (current) or power emanating from each spirit may pass through the bodies of the patients. As already mentioned (231) this action is described by the verb encorrentar (to pass a current).

35 In other spirit sessions, however, when the primary objective was not to cure, I sometimes witnessed mediums possessed by the spirits of recently dead local people, although this type of spirit was certainly in the minority. In the majority of cases most spirits were familiar orixás or caboclos.

As the different spirits take possession of their mediums the following dialogue takes place between the spirit speaking through the medium, and the onlookers:

Spirit:	Louvado seja Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo.	Praised be Our Lord Jesus Christ
Onlookers:	Para sempre seja louvado.	Let him be praised for ever
Spirit:	Louvado seja Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo.	Praised be Our Lord Jesus Christ
Onlookers:	Para sempre seja louvado.	Let him be praised for ever
Spirit:	A paz de Nosso Senhor Jesus Cristo	May the peace of Our Lord Jesus Christ
	derrame sobre as cabeças de todos vocês.	pour over all your heads
Onlookers:	Que assim seja.	So be it.

Directly after this dialogue, the spirit is greeted with one or more incantations that belong specially to him.

When all the spirits have been honoured in this way (and this may take two or three hours), the pai hands each person present a lighted candle and leads the way outside. Seven candles are symbolically wiped over the patient's body and then lit at the entrance to the property³⁶.

The pai, holding a crucifix over the patient's head says the following prayer:

1 Deus os salve os astres	God salute you stars
Deus os salve as águas	God salute you waters
Deus os salve as matas virgens	God salute you virgin jungle
Dos astres vem uma mensagem	From the stars comes a message
e das águas vem um poder	and from the waters comes a power
as ondas do mar sagrado	the waters of the sacred sea
para te defender	to defend you
abrindo os teus caminhos	opening your ways

³⁶ A form of nade de Exu designed to ward off evil forces until the end of the ceremony.

em nome de Oxalá, Oxossi,
Ogun, Yemanjá e Abaluayé.

in the name of Oxalá,
Oxossi,
Ogun, Yemanjá and
Abaluayé.

This is followed by the following spontaneous prayer:

- 2 Essas luzes³⁷ vão iluminar os
caminhos dela.
Meus irmãos, peço a todos vocês
em nome da falange do divino.
Espírito Santo,
que todos levantem estas luzes
para suspender os sofrimentos
desta criatura,
para que Jesus abençoe ela,
que veio à busca desta caridade.
Pai, sublime, amado mestre
derramai seus fluídos benéficos
sobre a cabecinha desta filha
e de todos vocês.
O Pai, eu te peço
de todo meu coração,
Oxossi Mineiro³⁸ nesta mesa
de sanctidão,
que derrame um olhar de
compaixão
para estes filhos que estão
aqui presentes,
rendendo homenagem aos astres
para derramar a esta filha
e a todos estes que estão.

These lights are going
to light her paths.
My brothers, I ask
all of you
in the name of the
phalanx
of the divine Holy
Spirit,
to lift your lights
that the sufferings
of this
creature may also be
raised aloft,
that Jesus may bless her,
since she has come in
search of His mercy.
Father sublime, beloved
master
pour your beneficent
essence
over the head of this
creature
and all of you present.
Oh Father, I beg you
from the depths of
my heart,
Oxossi Mineiro at this
holy
table,
cast a compassionate
eye
on these sons of yours
present here,
paying homage to the
stars
that they may bless
this child
and all who are here.

³⁷ i.e. the candles.

³⁸ Another title for Oxossi (C.2's orixá).

All present now place their candles on the ground to form a close circle round the patient³⁹.

The pai then makes the patient repeat the following three times:

salva estou
salva estarei .

I am saved
I shall be saved .

Each time the words are said the patient must jump in the air. The patient then repeats after the pai:

Com a força de Oxalá
o divino mestre,
Ogun, Oxossi
com toda sua falange
e Abaluayé.

With the force of Oxalá
the divine master
Ogun, Oxossi
with all his phalanx
and Abaluayé .

and immediately afterwards jumps out of the circle.

All those present clap.

(ii) Limpeza das águas

The limpeza dos astres just described is now followed by a limpeza das águas (cleansing by the waters). The timing of the ceremony is important because it should coincide exactly with the full moon and when the tide is beginning to turn from flood to ebb. This means that the whole series of rituals beginning with the 'complex' ebó should be arranged in such a manner that they coincide as closely as possible with the full moon. In the series of rituals witnessed the 'complex' ebó was performed on the day when a full moon was expected at night and the timing of the limpeza dos astres was fixed so that it would be over well before the tide turned.

³⁹ See photograph No. 13.

All the mediums (many of whom are still in trances), the patients and the onlookers process down to the beach with a series of dishes of food prepared specially for the goddesses of water (Yemanjá and Oxun)⁴⁰. This offering is known as the patient's obrigação (obligation) and it may include animals sacred to Yemanjá and Oxun if the patient's finances permit, although it more often takes the form of separate plates of black beans, brown beans, maize flour, cooked rice and at least three acaçá. These ingredients are wiped over the patient's body in the order given, in accordance with the established progression from dark to lighter colours and from raw to cooked food. Each plate is then placed on the surface of the water and allowed to sink, but sometimes, if the patient is restricted financially, the plate need not be offered as well as the food. This ritual is not accompanied by incantations or prayers but later on, in the cult house a festa (feast, celebration) is held to celebrate the successful completion of the rituals.

(iii) Oferenda aos caboclos

The following morning an offering is made by the patient to the caboclo spirits of the jungle thereby requesting them to join with all the other forces already invoked and contribute towards bringing about a cure.

⁴⁰ If the ceremony takes place on a beach by the sea the food is that of Yemanjá; if on the banks of a river it is that of Oxun. In Cachoeira where this ceremony was witnessed, the river is tidal, so both goddesses are invoked.

The pai cooks a pumpkin (provided by the patient) and .
then hollows it out and fills it with honey and flowers.
The patient then speaks into it and makes his or her special
request to the caboclos. The two halves are then joined
together and left by the patient in the jungle in a circle
made by twenty-one candles.

CONCLUSION

This study of curandeirismo has required the inclusion of an appraisal of Candomblé de caboclo since so many of the curing practices discussed find their origins in one or more of the different religious currents that have contributed towards Candomblé de caboclo. The African influence stands out as being the strongest, predictably, in that from early days there were numerically considerably more African peoples in the area than members of any other group, and today it is noticeable that people are mainly of African stock. The African tradition of worship by means of the medium assuming the identity of his or her orixá (i.e. falling into a trance) is still extremely common, and, as has been seen, it is at the basis of many of the thaumaturgic healing methods described in this study, in that the patient often consults not only the curandeiro but also the curandeiro's orixá for advice about a cure. This is particularly the case in a trabalho which is always preceded by a consulta during which instructions for the trabalho are given (see Chapter X).

This comparative ease in falling into a trance has kept very much alive the notion that man is protected by his orixá, who, if displeased in any way, could send illness or any form of indisposition as a result of his displeasure. The orixás, therefore, must be treated in the correct ritual fashion or all manner of misfortunes may ensue. Ritual observance of taboo is most strictly followed, this

being the case also among adherents to the Candomblé de caboclo cult even though their taboos are less severe than in more traditional houses.

The European contribution (i.e. pre-Christian, Christian and Spiritist) is also substantial, and this is due to a variety of factors. From the beginning of colonisation it was considered a mark of social superiority among the slaves to be baptised into the Catholic religion, and, as miscegenation took place, to adopt more and more Portuguese customs. Catholicism has always been the official religion of Brazil while African religions have periodically been persecuted, so all aspects of Catholicism have been allowed uninterrupted propagation. Moreover, whereas immigration from Africa stopped with the abolition of slavery, immigration from Catholic European countries (mainly Portugal, Spain and Italy) has been continuous right up to the present day. This has allowed a constant renewal process of popular Catholic and folkloric elements since many of the practices of European origin as described in this study are still found in certain parts of Spain, particularly Galicia, and Portugal, especially the northern province of Entre Douro e Minho that borders with Galicia, as is shown by fieldwork observation and documentary evidence in the text.

Spiritism has provided a further form of renewal in that it is in many ways an evolved type of Candomblé, involving as it does the possession of mediums by spirits. In addition, Spiritism with its central preoccupation with

healing, has introduced into curandeirismo in the area the concept of healing via 'group therapy'. The idea behind encorrentar (see above, 231 note 41) which requires the patient to join hands with all possessed mediums present, is that the corrente (current) from the spirits should flow right through the patient and cleanse him of any evil influence that may be making him ill.

The spirits, known as irmãos de luz are very rarely anything but traditional orixás and/or caboclo spirits but the mediums are precluded from dancing when possessed until all the normal curing procedures have taken place. The more sedate atmosphere of the spirit session involving, as it does, the mediums sitting at a table and concentrating on curing has given a totally new dimension to the faithful's relationship with the orixás. Instead of the orixá being in complete control of the situation with all present doing his will (during a Candomblé celebration, for example), in the spirit session he is firmly manipulated by the presidente whose job it is to ensure that all the curing procedures are completed within a certain fixed time limit. Spirit sessions are always held at regular intervals: (C.2)'s was held every Thursday at 8 p.m., while (I.6)'s took place only on the first Monday and last Thursday of the month at 5 p.m. and was allowed to proceed for no longer than one hour on each occasion. This enforced formality of the spirit session with its

strict timetable and lack of drums and dancing as a means of summoning the orixás constitutes the main difference between it and a festa (feast) which involves a great deal more physical activity and has no time limitations imposed upon it. The spirit session requires the orixás, on the guidance of the presidente, to concentrate all their energies on one specific purpose at regular intervals and for a carefully controlled period of time.

The indigenous contribution to curing ritual when compared with the African and European contributions just mentioned, is relatively small. This is curious in that caboclo spirits appear to be becoming more and more popular among cult members and so at first sight the indigenous element appears to be larger than in fact it is. But this popularity of the caboclo is based mainly on factors such as compatibility and economics rather than on an inclination on the part of cult members towards indigenous cultures in preference to others. The caboclo is more approachable and less detached than his African counterpart who is generally much more aloof and considerably more demanding. While the African orixá requires his followers to own a lavish costume and make extravagant sacrifices at specific times during the year, the caboclo is less exigent and renders it much easier, especially in economic terms, for his devotees to fulfil their obligations.

Another reason for the popularity of the caboclos is the comparatively recent resurgence of Tupi culture among

intellectuals in an attempt to establish a national identity. This movement gained a hold in the 1920's and brought a revival in indigenous art forms, history and language to such an extent that for some years a serious attempt was made to establish Tupi Guarani as the language of Brazilian intellectuals. The reappraisal of Tupi culture permeated through to other strata of society and what indigenous element there is in Candomblé de caboclo stems primarily from this and is not a survival of a contribution made by the Indian at the beginning of colonisation. The Indian's role on the plantations was very soon taken over completely by the African slave, the result being that the Indian drifted definitively away from population centres and back into the interior.

There is still very little documentary evidence concerning Indian cultures in Brazil of the type which provide an adequate insight into their religions and curing practices, and this makes it all the more difficult satisfactorily to evaluate what indigenous contributions there may have been to curandeirismo and associated rituals as discussed in this study. There are admittedly some elements which may stem from an indigenous source. These were mentioned above at the time of discussion and are principally sacudida, fumigation (mainly with tobacco smoke), and ritual baths (presumably of the pure water variety since there appears to be no specific reference to any form of indigenous herbal bath). Conversely, these practices were equally common to European and African cultures and, as our

evaluation has shown, they show a marked tendency to have developed without much reliance on any significant indigenous contribution. The European ritual reza involving the brushing of leaves over the patient's body to the accompaniment of a prayer is very akin to the sacudida (and probably derives from it) but the prayers accompanying such rituals are mainly European (No. 37 being the only exception in which there is mention of a caboclo spirit). Similarly the prayers transcribed in Chapter IV (Sacudida) show mainly a preoccupation with African and Catholic elements. Moreover, the herbs employed in these rituals are so employed either because of their affinity with specific African orixás or on account of their traditional use in Europe for such purposes. The indigenous contribution to herb lore is minimal and restricted in the main to the provision of Tupi names to some plants.

There are however a number of reasons why European and African elements should have syncretised and developed as markedly as they clearly have done. First, as mentioned above, many of the Africans that came from Portuguese colonies were already familiar with Portuguese culture and the language, and as a result were able to settle down more easily after their transition to the new colony of Brazil. In addition to this the African was able to discern considerable similarities between his religion and Catholicism. Not only could he reconcile the orixás with the Catholic

saints but he could also identify with many characteristic Catholic tenets (e.g. the guardian angel; the Mother cult; the intercessor/confessor figure; fumigation; certain taboos such as fasting and abstinence). Moreover the Catholic idea of the Devil and his connection with Hell fire appeared to be an extension of the African Exú who was believed to have originally brought fire, although in this case for the benefit of mankind. The basic dualism in Exú could very easily be extended into a Catholic context by linking the demoniacal side of his character to the Devil, and the more beneficent side to St. Michael the Archangel who drove the fallen angel to Hell. This additional link with St. Michael is found mainly in the south of Brazil (particularly in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo), although in Bahia Exú commands considerable respect as exemplified by the terms used to refer to him: o chefe (the chief) and o chefão (the big chief). Exú's ambivalent personality is a succinct embodiment of the forces of both good and evil, and he is both the agent that may be invoked to put evil on a victim and the agent that is invoked to remove it.

In addition to these religious similarities there were also basic cultural similarities between Europe and Africa. The linking of herbs to gods in ancient Egypt is virtually identical to the Yoruba tradition whereby specific herbs are placed under the control of specific orixás.

The astrologers' idea that a planet may bring disease if in a certain position in the heavens, and that the herbs linked to it can also bring healing, flourished in Europe at the time of colonisation. These notions coincided with the Yoruba idea that each orixá controls a certain part of the body and therefore can either bring harm or healing to it depending on the way the orixá in question is treated. Similarly, African taboos with regard to the collection of herbs were very akin to the astrologers' insistence on harmony among the spheres before certain herbs could be picked for specific purposes.

The influence of Islam was also common in many different ways to both Europe and Africa. Amulets such as the pentangle and the breve were brought over simultaneously by both the Portuguese and certain of the Africans, showing a common origin in the Moslem concern with the power of cabbalistic signs and of the written word.

These basic and deep-rooted similarities between the two main cultures that constitute Candomblé de caboclo may be behind certain common characteristics that exist in the different curing methods that have been described in this study. All the methods (namely sacudida; fumigation; ritual baths; the use of pemba and amulets; the curing prayer, and the ebó) involve ridding the patient of the force of evil that is the cause of the indisposition so that the body may be left ritually clean and able to heal itself.

But one of the fundamental characteristics of many of the rituals is that, after the evil has been expelled, a similar ritual with modifications (especially of ingredients employed) is enacted to attract forces of good. Hence in fumigation, ingredients to expel evil are employed first while the person fumigating moves through the house from the back door to the front. Then the ingredients are changed for those which attract only good forces and fumigation continues from the front door to the back thereby bringing all the good forces into the house. This process of attracting good by the use of specific substances subsequent to the expulsion of evil is also followed in the case of ritual baths.

The main substances employed are herbs and the reason for using a particular herb is based on the character and the function in myth of the orixá who controls it. The use of herbs can be fairly complex, as in the case of the numerous combinations for ritual baths, or quite simple, as in the case of the reza in which usually only one herb is employed during the ritual. In all cases, however, the evil is first expelled. (C.5) particularly emphasised the importance of first ridding the body of evil before attracting forces of good, his main point being that good forces have the characteristic of 'sealing' the body for a while against evil forces. Hence, if an evil force is not first of all got rid of it will remain inside and the patient's indisposition will steadily worsen.

Fumigation and the ritual bath both have this characteristic of being able to expel and attract forces (afastar/atraer; descarga/desenvolvimento). Other methods of cure follow the same basic pattern of first expelling evil and then, towards the end of the ritual, attracting good usually by means of fumigation, a ritual bath and/or application of peba. This is the case in sacudida which must be followed by fumigation (first to afastar and then to atraer), but it is seen most clearly in the 'complex' ebó which involves a whole series of different actions designed primarily to remove the evil and destroy it (e.g. cutting with scissors certain of the ingredients; sacrificing the scapegoat etc.), and these are followed by fumigation, ritual baths and the application of peba. In the case of amulets, the evil is first attracted to the amulet before entering the body, and is then rendered harmless by the amulet's shape or smell, or the substance of which it is composed.

All the methods of cure discussed involve the spoken or sung recitation of a prayer or incantation at some stage during the ritual. Pebeba and amulets are manufactured to the accompaniment of a prayer or incantation as well. 'Complex' amulets (patuás) always contain a written prayer or charm together with their other ingredients.

Many of the prayers and incantations transcribed above show a marked reliance on the European tradition although a number of the incantations that accompany the 'complex'

ebós witnessed, are in the original African language. The African content of such incantations is likely to diminish steadily in future as the caboclo element becomes more pronounced, and as the movement away from traditional Candomblé continues. Younger mães and pais de santo who have been brought up fully in the caboclo tradition (e.g. C.9 and C.11) conduct most ceremonies in the vernacular and never converse in an African language. Some of those who have retained a certain amount of the African language in their incantations are unable to give a translation into Portuguese (see for example Chapter X, B.(iv)).

The movement away from traditional Candomblé implies a movement away from Africa and towards Europe, represented chiefly by Spiritism. African religions in Brazil from early colonial days were viewed as unacceptable and undesirable (and often incomprehensible) since they stemmed only from the slave population which was at the very bottom of the social scale. On account of this social stigma, many Africans, as already pointed out, sought a Catholic baptism so as to cease being considered pagan and accordingly socially inferior. This view of African religion prevailed after Abolition and was the underlying factor behind much of the official persecution in the first half of the twentieth century. More recently, however, with the advent of Spiritism, with its clear European origins, and its incorporation into traditional Candomblé in the genesis of Candomblé de caboclo, basically African cults have become

more socially acceptable and have lost for many the social stigma originally associated with them. Spiritist-influenced Candomblé de caboclo permits the traditional worship of the orixás in a considerably more dignified way with mediums often working seated at a table instead of dancing. For others, however, the social stigma still survives: the three patients mentioned in Chapter X (C.2) refused to allow their faces to be photographed because they were afraid of the photographs being published. These patients belonged to the professional class by training: a doctor, a teacher and a lawyer, and for such people it is unlikely that curandeirismo of this nature will ever lose its stigma, since it is perpetuated principally by the lower socio-economic classes and curandeiros tend to come from poor backgrounds. However, what unites these classes is a faith in thaumaturgic curing which permeates society at all levels and spans a variety of religious beliefs from the orthodox and long-established Roman Catholic acceptance of miraculous cures to the internationally renowned 'operations' of faith healers like José Arigó. In Bahia in 1973-74, people both inside and outside Candomblé circles, including professional people, spoke of the feats performed by 'o médico invisível', a certain Doctor Fritz, a doctor of German origin who continued to operate after his death by giving precise instructions to mediums through whom he worked, directing complex operations step by step¹.

¹ For more information on Arigó and Doctor Fritz see St. Clair 1971:116ff.

Other quasi-religious and Messianic movements have also sprung up in the wake of Spiritism, placing a similar emphasis on curing amongst their activities and these have attracted on the one hand those unable to afford medical aid in the first place, and on the other those for whom conventional medicine can afford no further relief. In the latter case, curandeirismo and group therapy based on religious worship are seen as a last resort, while in other cases they may complement conventional medical treatment.

(I.2) often advised patients to consult a doctor for conditions she clearly recognised to be beyond her powers of alleviation, but recommended a ritual trabalho in order to 'desenvolver' the doctor's spirit that he might be enlightened sufficiently to make an accurate diagnosis and prescribe a satisfactory cure. This having been successfully accomplished the patient might feel obliged to complement the medical treatment with another trabalho or a ritual sacrifice of thanksgiving in order to assure the permanence of the cure. Professional medicine and folk medicine are therefore not always easily distinguishable and a cure may be attributed to the complementary action of both. By allying itself with professional medicine in this way, curandeirismo assures its self-perpetuation: just as votive offerings to Catholic saints have preceded and followed medical intervention, so the same process takes place with the orixás, and medical skill can be attributed to the guiding hand of the orixás whose power remains undiminished in the face of modern scientific knowledge.

Coexistence and interaction therefore appear to be the means of safeguarding and guaranteeing the continuation both of African-based religion and popular medicine in the Recôncavo: African deities continue to be revered publicly in the guise of Catholic saints and propitiation of the orixás by the faithful assures their favourable influence in effecting a cure, when invoked by the curandeiro, either directly or via the vehicle of the professional doctor.

APPENDIX 1

Herbs, plants and trees are listed alphabetically according to the following scheme:

- 1 Botanical name(s).
- 2 Orixá(s) by whom controlled.
- 3 Sacudida.
- 4 Fumigation: afastar; atraer. These will be abbreviated to af.; at.
- 5 Ritual baths: desenvolvimento; descarga; abó; amasi. These will be abbreviated to desen.; desc.; ab.; am.
- 6 Pemba.
- 7 Reza.
- 8 Taboos.
- 9 Other observations.

In cases where information was unobtainable the relevant number has been omitted. When there is apparent disparity of views, reference is made to the relevant informants.

Abre caminhos

- 1 Kanimia Gardn..
- 2 Ogun.
- 3 Yes.
- 4 Af...
- 5 Desen.; desc...
- 6 No.
- 7 No.
- 8 Pick before sunrise.
- 9 The name abre caminhos is given to this herb because Ogun 'opens the ways' (i.e. resolves difficulties) with his sword. Can be included in patuás.

Acoco

- 2 All the orixás.
- 3 No.
- 4 Af.; at. (C.5). No (C.1).
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.; am...
- 6 Yes.
- 7 No.
- 8 Best to pick on first Friday of Lent (C.5). Pick only on Thursday or Friday (C.1).
- 9 For planting ritual see 79. It will die if touched by someone who is ritually unclean.

Agua de Levante

- 1 Anomum cardamomum L.; Renealmia brasiliensis Schum..
- 2 Yansan (I.2); Oxun, Yemanjá (S.6); Ogun (C.1).
- 3 Yes (C.5). No (C.1).
- 4 At. (C.5). No (C.1).
- 5 Desen.; desc.; am...
- 6 Yes.
- 7 Yes.
- 8 On picking, leave an offering of money near the plant. This herb is called erva paga (paid for herb).

Alecrim

- 1 Rosmarinus officinalis L..
- 2 Yemanjá.
- 3 No.
- 4 At...
- 5 Desen.; ab...
- 6 Yes.
- 7 Yes.
- 8 None.
- 9 A cross of alecrim may be sewn on the outside of a patuá.

Alfavaca

- 1 Ocimum fluminensis V..
- 2 Ibeji.
- 3 No.
- 4 No.
- 5 Desen.; desc.

Alfazema

- 1 Lavandula spica L.; Lavandula vera.
- 2 Oxun, Yemanjá (I.1, S.6); Yansan (C.1).
- 4 Af.; at.
- 5 Desen.; desc.
- 6 Yes.
- 7 Yes, but rarely (I.2). No (C.1).
- 8 Pick before sunset, or before midday to attract good, after sunset to get rid of evil forces.
- 9 It is used particularly to fumigate a newly-born baby and all the clothing worn by both the baby and the mother during the first seven days after birth. (See also Lima 1946:86-87; Câmara Cascudo 1951:84.)

Aluman

- 1 Vernonia bahiensis Toledo.
- 2 Omolú, Yansan.
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.
- 8 Pick on Monday.
- 9 Used to cure mental disturbance, three leaves being placed underneath the patient's pillow.

Angélica

- 1 Guettarda angelica Mart..
- 2 Oxun.
- 3 No.
- 4 No.
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.
- 6 Yes.
- 7 No.
- 8 Leave money next to plant when picking.
- 9 Also called angélica do sertão.

Appetit

- 1 Allium oleraceum L.; Allium schoenoprasum L..
- 9 Leaves passed by themselves over the body will help to get rid of an egun (C.6).

Araçá de porco

- 1 Psidium araçá Rad.; Psidium cuneatum Camb.;
- 2 Psidium humile Vel..
- 5 Desen.
- 8 Picker must not have consumed alcohol for previous 24 hours.

Arco de barris

- 1 Sparattanthelium botucudorum.
- 2 Omolú.
- 3 No.
- 5 Desen. (I.2). No (C.1).
- 7 No.

Aroeira

- 1 Schinus molle L..
- 2 Exú (I.2); Omolú, Yansan (C.1); Oxossi (C.6).
- 3 Yes.
- 4 No.
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.; am.
- 7 No.
- 8 Pick at 5 a.m..

Arruda

- 1 Ruta graveolens L..
- 2 Omolú, Yansan (C.1).
- 3 No (I.2); Yes (C.1).
- 4 Af.; at.
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.
- 7 Yes.
- 8 Pick when temperature is cool (i.e. early in the morning).
- 9 This herb is dealt with at length on 69.
Used for the manufacture of figas (see 166-167).
Three leaves may be worn behind the ear as an amulet (see 178).

Assapeixe branco

- 1 Vernonia membranacea Gardn..
- 2 Yansan.

Avenca

- 1 Adiantum capillus-veneris L..
- 2 Oxun, Yemanjá (I.2, S.6); Naná (C.1).
- 9 This plant will wilt if looked at by a victim of the evil eye. It must be looked after by only one person.

Azafrão

- 1 Crocus sativus L..
- 4 At.

Banana

- 1 Various species of the Musa genus.
- 3 Yes.

Barba de bode

- 1 Cyperus compressus L..
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Desc.
- 6 Yes.

Barba de São Pedro

- 1 Polygala paniculata L..
- 2 Omolu.
- 5 Desen.
- 7 Yes.
- 8 Pick only half a leaf at a time.

Barquinho de Moé

- 1 Rhoeo discolor Hanc..
- 2 Oxalá.
- 5 Desen.
- 8 Pick very early in the morning.

Bejerecun

- 1 Possibly Xylopia.
- 4 Af.
- 5 Desc.
- 6 Yes.
- 9 If the seed is collected between Maundy Thursday and Good Friday, it can be used in a patuá or worn round the neck as an amulet (see 178).

Betis cheiroso

- 1 Piper eucalptifolium Rudge..
- 2 Naná (I.2); Oxun, Yemanjá (S.6); Ogun, Yansan (C.1).
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.; am.
- 7 Yes.
- 8 Pick between 3 and 4 a.m..
- 9 Also known as betis branco.

Bonina

- 1 Mirabilis jalapa L..
- 2 Oxun.
- 5 Desen.; am...
- 8 Pick early, between 3 and 4 a.m..

Brilhantina

- 1 Pilea microphylla.
- 2 Oxun, Yemanjá.
- 5 Desen.; desc...
- 8 Pick early, between 3 and 4 a.m..

Caiçara

- 1 Solanum pulverulentum.
- 2 Omolú.
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Desc...
- 7 Yes.

Cajá

- 1 Spondias cytherea.
- 5 Ab.; am...
- 9 Abó mixture suspended on the trunk.

Canela de velho

- 1 Zinnia elegans Jacq.; Miconia albicans.
- 2 Omolú.
- 5 Desen.; desc...
- 8 Pick on Monday.
- 9 Leaf placed on top of head to cure madness.

Cansanção

- 1 Jatropha urens L.; Jatropha oligandra Muell..
- 2 Exú.
- 5 Desc...
- 6 Yes, but only pemba de Exú.
- 9 Cansanção stings and disobedient initiates are obliged to roll on a bed of cansanção by way of punishment, while in a trance. When picked with the left hand it can only be used for evil ends.

Capianga

- 1 Vismia brasiliensis Chois..
- 2 Yansan (I.2); Ogun (S.6).
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Desc.; ab.
- 6 Yes.
- 7 Yes.
- 8 Pick on Wednesdays.

Capicoba

- 1 Polygonum acre H.B.K..
- 2 Ogun.
- 5 Desen.

Capim de caboclo

- 1 Andropogon saccharoides Sw.; Andropogon sorghum Brot.;
- 2 Andropogon nardus L..
- 2 Yansan (C.1).
- 4 At.
- 5 Desen.; desc.
- 8 Pick between 5 and 9.30 a.m..

Capim estrela

- 1 Dichromena ciliata Vahl..
- 2 Ibeji.
- 5 Desc.
- 8 Pick on a Monday.

Capim santo

- 1 Kyllinga odorata Vahl..
- 2 Ibeji.
- 5 Ab., but rarely.
- 8 Pick on a Friday.

Carqueja

- 1 Baccharis genistifolia D.C..
- 5 Desen.
- 8 Pick on a Friday.

Catinga de crioula

- 1 Stachys fluminensis.
- 2 Ogun.
- 5 Desen.; ab.
- 8 Pick on Tuesdays as early as possible.
- 9 Also called quese-quese.

Catinga de porco

- 1 Caesalpinia pyramidalis Tul..
- 2 Yansan (S.6); Omolú (C.6).
- 4 At...
- 5 Desc.; ab...
- 9 Also known as catingueira. May also be included in a patuá.

Coerana

- 1 Cestrum laevigatum Sch..
- 2 Omolú (I.2, S.6); Ogun, Yansan, Omolú and Exú (C.1).
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Desc.; ab...
- 7 Yes.
- 9 Used particularly for driving away an egun. May not be used in sacudida where patient belongs to Yansan (see 90).
If picked between 9 a.m. and 12 midnight it belongs to Exú and can be used only for evil, if picked between 4 a.m. and 9 a.m. it can only be used for good purposes.

Cordão de São Francisco

- 1 Leonurus sibiricus L..
- 2 Ogun.
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Desc...
- 7 Yes.
- 9 Also called cordão de frade.

Corredeira

- 1 Euphorbia pillulifera L..
- 2 Exú.
- 4 At...
- 5 Desc...
- 6 Yes, but only pemba de Exú.
- 8 Pick only at full moon.
- 9 Leaf placed under trays of merchandise by street vendors to promote sales.

Dandá

- 1 Cyperus rotundus L.; Cyperus longus L.; Cyperus esculentus L..
- 4 At. but rarely.
- 6 Yes.
- 8 Pick in Holy Week, if possible on Good Friday.
- 9 Used in patuás and may be sewn into a baby's clothing to protect against evil. A small piece is often placed in the mouth to protect against evil when it is supposed that evil influence is at its strongest (e.g. during a curing ritual).

Dendê

- 1 Elaeis guineensis Jacq..
- 9 Widely used in Candomblé ritual and constitutes an important part of the pade de Exú (see 88 note 7). Abó mixture suspended on the trunk.

Erva cidreira

- 1 Melissa officinalis L..
- 5 Desen.

Erva de passarinho

- 1 Struthanthus vulgaris; Struthanthus brasiliensis.
- 2 Xangô (S.6); Exú (C.1).
- 5 Desen. (S.6); no (C.1).
- 6 Yes, but peba de Exú only (C.1).

Erva Santa Maria

See Mastruz.

Espada de Ogun

- 1 Sansevieria zeylanica Willd..
- 2 Ogun.
- 3 Yes.
- 4 No.
- 5 Desc.; ab.
- 8 Pick before 6 a.m. or directly after 6 p.m. (i.e. just before sunset).

Espada de Oxossi

- 1 Sansevieria trifasciata laurentii.
- 2 Oxossi.
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Ab.

Espada de Yansan

- 2 Yansan.
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Ab.

Espinho cheiroso

- 1 Xanthoxylum rhoifolium Lam..
- 2 Maná.
- 4 Af.
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.
- 6 Yes.
- 8 Pick on Saturdays.

Favaquinha de cobra

- 1 Monniera trifolia L..
- 2 Yemanjá (S.6); Naná (C.1).
- 4 At.
- 5 Desen.
- 8 Pick between 4 and 6.30 a.m..
- 9 Also called folha de vidro.

Favico

- 9 A seed that is worn round the neck as an amulet (see 178).

Fedegoso

- 1 Cassia occidentalis L..
- 4 Af.
- 5 Desc.

Folha da Costa

- 1 Kalanchoe brasiliensis.
- 2 Oxun.
- 5 Desen.; ab.; am.
- 7 Yes, but rarely.
- 9 Also known as folha de bori and is used during this ceremony. It is also used during most ceremonies involving sacrifice (C.6) (see 275).

Folha de algodão

- 1 Gossypium hirsutum L..
- 2 Oxalá (Bastide 1901:163).
- 4 Af.
- 5 Desc.

Folha de laranja da terra

- 1 Citrus aurantium L..
- 2 Yemanjá.
- 4 Af.; at. (not the leaf, but the skin of the fruit).
- 5 Desen.

Folha de limão

- 1 Citrus medica L..
- 2 Exú.
- 4 At.
- 5 Desen.
- 6 Yes, but only for pemba de Exú.

Folha de mamona

- 1 Ricinus communis L..
- 2 Yansan.
- 4 At..
- 5 Desen..

Folha de Marcela

- 1 Achyrocline satureioides D.C..
- 5 Desen..
- 9 Also called Marcela do campo, Marcela galega and Marcela de colchão.

Folha de neve

- 1 Hyptis pectinata Poit..
- 2 Nana (S.6)..; Yemanjá (C.1).
- 4 At..
- 5 Desen..; desc..
- 6 Yes.
- 7 Yes, but rarely.
- 8 Pick between 4 a.m. and 6 a.m. and certainly not later than 6 a.m..

Folha santa

- 1 Peltodon radicans
- 2 Omolú.
- 4 Af..
- 5 Desc..
- 9 Also known as rabulho de cachorro.

Folha de urubú

- 1 Pothos quadrangularis; Coccoloba sagittifolia; Coccoloba latifolia.
- 2 Ibeji.
- 3 Yes.
- 4 No.
- 5 Desc..
- 6 Yes, but only pemba de Exú (C.1).
- 7 No.

Fruta da ciência

- 9 It can be worn round the neck as an amulet (see 173). Also known as tontica.

Fruta de São Cipriano

- 8 It should not be picked up but allowed to fall naturally from the tree.
- 9 It may be used as an amulet to protect against the evil eye if it falls with the concave side facing upwards and if it is picked up by a man. If the convex side faces upwards it may be used for evil, but only if picked up by a woman (see 74-75 and 178).

Fumo brabo

- 1 Elephantopus scaber L..
- 4 No.
- 5 Desc..

Gameleira

- 1 Ficus doliaria M..
- 2 Exú, Omolú.
- 3 Yes.
- 4 No.
- 5 Desc..
- 6 Yes, but only peuba de Exú.
- 7 Yes, but rarely.

Girassol

- 1 Helianthus annuus L..
- 2 Oxalá.
- 4 At..
- 5 Desen..

Guiné

- 1 Petiveria alliacea L..
- 2 Omolú.
- 3 Yes.
- 4 Af. (S.6).
- 5 Desc.; ab..
- 6 Yes (I.2).
- 7 Yes.
- 8 Pick Wednesday, Thursday and Friday (C.1).
- 9 Generally considered to be one of the principal leaves in the ritual reza. Also known as tipi and pipi (see 67).
Used for the manufacture of figas (see 166-167).
Three leaves may be worn behind the ear as an amulet (see 178).
Can also be included in patuás.

Hortelã grosso

- 1 Mentha viridis L..
- 5 Desen.; desc..

Imbé

- 1 Philodendron imbé Schott.
- 9 Used in most rituals to cure victims of the evil eye and moléstia do ar.

Jaqueira

- 1 Artocarpus heterophyllus.
- 9 Abó mixture suspended on the trunk.

Jarrinha

- 1 Aristolochia cymbifera Mart..
- 4 At..
- 5 Desen..
- 8 Pick only Monday, Tuesday and Friday.

Jasmim do Florio

- 1 Plumeria lutea R. & P.; Plumeria aurantia Lodd..
- 6 Yes, but only for pemba de Exú.
- 9 A lizard (unknown species) that lays eggs in the bark can be grated and used as pemba de Exú (see 156). Also known as jasmim do Cairo.

Jeribão

- 1 Pavonia cancelata.
- 4 Af..
- 5 Desc..

Jitirana

- 1 Convolvulus contortus Vell..
- 2 Oxossi.
- 5 Desen..

Juiz de paz

- 1 Acanthospermum xanthioides D.C.; Xanthium spinosum L..
- 4 Af..
- 5 Desc..

Jurema preta

- 1 Mimosa nigra; Acacia hostilis Benth.; Acacia jurema Mart..
- 2 Omolu.
- 9 Used in patuás as general protection against illness. (See also Câmara Cascudo 1951:88-89.)

Jerubeba

- 1 Solanum paniculatum L..
- 3 Yes.
- 4 Af..
- 5 Desc..

Lança de Oxalá

- 2 Oxalá
- 5 Desen.; ab..
- 9 It should be sown on a Friday in the middle of a pentangle scratched on the ground.

Lingua de vaca

- 1 Talinum patens Willd.; Chaptalia tomentosa Vent..
- 2 Yemanjá.
- 5 Desc..

Lírio branco

- 1 Lilium candidum L..
- 2 Oxun (I.2); Oxalá (S.6); Yemanjá (C.1).
- 3 Yes, but rare.
- 4 Af..
- 5 Desen.; desc..
- 7 Yes, but rarely.
- 8 When picking, light a candle at the edge of water.

Louco branco

- 1 Plumbago scandens L..
- 5 Desen.; desc..
- 6 Yes, but pemba de Omú only.
- 8 Pick with the left hand and without looking at the bush.
- 9 This is a herb whose properties and use change radically according to the time of day. E.g. it may be employed for good purposes if picked between 5.30 and 5.45 a.m., or 4 to 6.20 p.m.; and for evil purposes if picked between 5.45 a.m. and 10 a.m. and 6.20 p.m. onwards. Cannot be picked for good purposes in November.

Macaça

- 2 Yemanjá, Oxalá.
- 4 At..
- 5 Desen.; ab..
- 7 Yes.
- 9 The plant will wilt if looked at by a victim of the evil eye. It must be looked after by only one person.

Malmequer

- 1 Wedelia paludosa D.C..
- 2 Ogun; Oxun (Bastide 1961:165).
- 4 Af...
- 5 Desen.; desc...
- 8 Pick very early in the morning.

Malva branca

- 1 Anacyclus aureus.
- 2 Omolú; Yemanjá (Lima 1946:96).
- 4 Af.; at...
- 5 Desc...

Malva risco

- 1 Urena lobata L.; Sida micrantha St. Hil..
- 2 Yemanjá.
- 4 Af.; at...
- 5 Desen.; desc...

Manjeriçã

- 1 Ocimum basilicum L..
- 2 Yemanjá, Naná, Oxalá, Oxun.
- 4 At...
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.; am...
- 6 Yes.
- 7 Yes.
- 8 Pick between 4 and 5.30 a.m..
- 9 One of the principal herbs used in the reza ritual. There are many different types of manjeriçã with similar properties and which go under the following names: manjeriçã de Austrália, manjeriçã graúdo, manjeriçã de Itália, manjeriçã de crioula, manjeriçã miúdo.

Manjerona

- 1 Marjorana hortensis.
- 5 Am...

Maracujá

- 1 Passiflora alata Ait.; Passiflora bahiensis Klotzsch..
- 2 Naná.
- 5 Desen...
- 8 Before picking, the picker must take a banho (water). Picker must not be harbouring any feelings of anger towards anyone or this might prejudice the patient.

Marianinha

- 1 Commelina nudiflora L.; Commelina communis V.;
- 2 Commelina deficiens, Heber.; Commelina virginica L..
- 2 Nana.
- 5 Desen.; desc...
- 9 Also known as trapoeraba.

Maria preta

- 1 Blanchetia heterotricha D.C..
- 2 Yansan.
- 5 Desen.; desc...
- 7 Yes, particularly for the evil eye.

Maricutia

- 1 Rutacea.
- 5 Desc...

Mastruz

- 1 Chenopodium ambrosioides L.; Lepidium bonariense L..
- 5 Desen...
- 7 Yes.
- 9 Also known as erva Santa Maria.

Matapasso

- 1 Cassia tora L..
- 5 Desen.; desc...

Melancia da praia

- 1 Solanum balbisii Dum.; Solanum agrarium Sendt..
- 5 Desc...

Mentrasto

- 1 Ageratum conyzoides L..
- 5 Desc...
- 9 Also known as mentraço.

Muricí

- 1 Byrsonima sericia D.C..
- 5 Ab...
- 6 Yes.

Murta

- 1 Myrtus communis L..
- 2 Ogun.
- 5 Desc...
- 7 Yes, particularly for the evil eye.
- 8 Pick at 7 a.m. or between 4.30 and 5.00 p.m..

Murungu

- 1 Erythrina mulungu H.; Erythrina corallodendron L..
- 2 Omolú.
- 5 Desc...
- 8 Pick at 7 a.m. and between 4.30 and 5.00 p.m..
- 9 Also called mulungu.

Narciso branco

- 1 Hedychium coronarium Koen..
- 2 Oxun, Yemanjá.
- 3 Yes.
- 4 Af.; at...
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.; am...
- 6 Yes.
- 7 Yes, but rarely.
- 8 Pick between 4 and 5 a.m..

Nativo

- 1 Panicum crus-ardeae Willd.; Panicum elongatum Poir..
- 2 Nana.
- 7 Yes.

Nicuri de caboclo

- 1 Cocos coronata Mart.; Cocos schizophylla Mart..
- 2 Yansan.
- 9 The root of this plant is used in certain caboclo seitas for divination. It is cut into segments like the obi nut, divination being based on the way these segments fall when thrown. The root is known as batata de Nicuri or batata de Oricuri.

Noz mescada

- 1 Myristica fragrans Houtt..
- 2 Omolú.
- 4 Af...
- 5 Desc...
- 6 Yes.
- 8 Pick just before the new moon.
- 9 Often hung round the neck on a thread as a means of avoiding moléstia do ar.

Obi

- 1 Cola acuminata Schott. & Endl.; Cola vera Schum..
- 5 Ab.; am.
- 9 Used in divination.

Palma

- 1 Opuntia tuna Mill.; Opuntia dillenii Haw.;
Opuntia burbanki.
- 2 Yansan.
- 5 Ab.
- 8 Pick between 7 to 9.30 a.m. and 4 to 5 p.m..

Pau pombo

- 1 Tapirira guianensis Aubl..
- 2 Ogun.
- 3 Yes.
- 4 No (S.6); at. (I.2) but rarely.
- 5 Desc.
- 6 Yes (I.2) but rarely.
- 7 Yes (I.2) but rarely.
- 9 Also known as roxomacumba and roxuré.

Pinhão branco

- 1 Jatropha curcas L..
- 5 Desc.
- 7 Yes, particularly for the evil eye.

Pinhão roxo

- 1 Jatropha gossypifolia Muell..
- 2 Omolú, Ogun.
- 5 Desc.; ab.
- 7 Yes.
- 8 Pick between 4 and 6.30 a.m..
- 9 One of the principal leaves used in the rega
ritual to cure evil eye and moléstia do ar.

Pitanga

- 1 Eugenia michelii.
- 2 Oxun, Yemanjá, Naná, Oxossi.
- 3 Yes.
- 4 Af. (S.6 only).
- 5 Desc.
- 9 Pitanga is generally associated with good fortune and is often found as a decoration in the home, particularly at Christmas. Cf. Lima 1946:99.

Poejo

- 1 Mentha pulegium L..
- 2 Oxun, Yemanjá.
- 4 At. (I.2 only).
- 5 Desen.; desc.
- 6 Yes, but rarely.
- 7 Yes (I.2) but rarely.

Purga do campo

- 1 Viola ipecacuanha L.; Tonidium ipecacuanha Vent.;
Hybanthus ipecacuanha Bail.; Cephaelis
ipecacuanha A. Rich..
- 2 Oxossi.
- 5 Desen.
- 8 The picker must have been ritually clean for nine days before picking. Only one leaf may be picked at a time.
- 9 A detailed discussion of this herb is given by Gomes 1809 1st ed. 1972:IX-XLI; Vogel 1970:41.

Quioyó

- 1 Ocimum guineensis Sch..
- 2 Xangô.
- 5 Desen.; desc.
- 7 Yes (C.1 only), particularly for moléstia do ar.
- 8 Pick between 7 and 10.30 a.m..

Quitoco

- 1 Pluchea quitoc D.C..
- 2 Yemanjá, Oxun, Yansan.
- 3 Yes (I.2 only).
- 4 Af. (S.6 only).
- 5 Desen.; desc.
- 6 Yes (I.2 only).
- 7 Yes.
- 8 Pick very early.
- 9 Can be used for evil purposes if found at a crossroads (C.5 only).

Rompegrão

- 1 Bumelia sartorum Mart..
- 2 Omolú.
- 5 Desc.

Sabugueiro

- 1 Sambucus australis L.; Sambucus nigra L..
- 2 Naná, Omolú.
- 5 Desc.
- 7 Yes (I.2) but rarely. Cf. Valle 1963:604.

Salsa da praia

- 1 Ipomoea pes-caprae Forsk.; Ipomoea littoralis Boiss..
- 2 Yemanjá, Oxun.
- 5 Desen.; desc...
- 8 Pick between 4 and 5 a.m. when the tide is coming in.

Sambombaia de caboclo

- 1 Lygodium polymorphum H.B.K..
- 5 Desc...

Sangolovo

- 1 Costus spicatus Sw..
- 2 Oxalá.
- 3 Yes.
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.; am...
- 7 Yes, (I.2 only) but rarely.
- 8 Pick between 4 and 5.30 a.m..

São Caetano

- 1 Momordica charantia L..
- 5 Desc...

São Gonçalo

- 1 Casearia sylvestre Sw.; Casearia brasiliensis;
Casearia lingua Camb..
- 2 Oxossi; belongs to all the orixás but particularly Omolú (C.1); Ibeji (C.2).
- 3 Yes.
- 4 Af.; at. (I.2 only).
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.; am...
- 6 Yes (I.2 only).
- 7 Yes.
- 8 Pick the day before it is required.
- 9 Often seen with pitanga as a decoration at Christmas time to bring good fortune.

Sapatinho de Nossa Senhora

- 1 Zebrina pendula Schmitzl.; Petrea volubilis Jacq..
- 2 Oxun, Yemanjá.
- 5 Desen.; ab...
- 8 Pick early in the morning and only a quarter leaf at a time.
- 9 Also called viuvinha.

Sete chagas

- 1 Cuphea balsamona Cham..
- 2 Omolú, Oxalá, Ogun.
- 4 Af., (I.2 only) but rarely.
- 5 Descen.; desc...
- 7 Yes, (I.2) but rarely.
- 8 Pick very early with great calm and patience facing the rising sun.

Suspiro branco

- 1 Gomphrena globosa L..
- 2 Yansan.
- 5 Desc...
- 8 Pick between 4 and 5.30 a.m..

Tapa buraco

- 1 Acalypha communis Ruell.; Piper aduncum Vell..
- 2 Exú.
- 3 Yes (C.5 only).
- 5 Desc. (I.2 and S.6 only).
- 6 Yes, but for pemba de Exú only.
- 8 Pick at 6 or 12 in the morning or evening.

Tapete de Oxalá

- 1 Peltodons sp.,
- 2 Oxalá.
- 3 Yes, (C.5 only).
- 4 At..
- 5 Desc.; ab.; am...
- 7 Yes, (C.5 only) particularly for evil eye.
- 8 Pick between 3 and 5 a.m..
- 9 Used to wash the head of initiates (C.5 only).

Tira teima

- 1 Esenbeckia febrifuga Juss..
- 2 Ogun.
- 3 Yes (S.6 only).
- 4 Af..
- 5 Descen.; desc.; ab...
- 6 Yes (I.2 only).
- 7 Yes, (I.2 only) but rarely.
- 8 Pick between 5 and 6 a.m..

Tomba tudo

- 2 Ogun (S.6); Exú or Ogun (C.1).
- 5 Desc...
- 6 Yes, pemba de Exú only (C.1).
- 9 When picked at 6 or 12 in the morning or evening belongs to Exú and may only be used for evil purposes; when picked at other times it belongs to Ogun (C.1).

Tontica

See Fruta da ciência.

Trombeta

- 1 Datura sp..
- 5 Desen..

Umburana

- 1 Bursera leptophloeos.
- 2 Onolú.
- 8 Pick during the sunset.
- 9 Hung round the neck on a thread to protect against moléstia do ar (see 178).
It may also be included in a patuá. Only the nut is used, not the leaf. Also called imburana.

Vassourinha de Nossa Senhora

- 1 Scoparia dulcis L..
- 2 Yemanjá, Oxun, Naná, Onolú.
- 3 Yes, (I.2) but rarely.
- 4 Af.; at..
- 5 Desen.; ab.; am..
- 7 Yes, particularly for the evil eye.
- 9 One of the principal leaves used in the reza ritual. After use during this ritual it is believed to wilt if the patient is indeed a victim of the evil eye. Also called Vassourinha mofina.

Vassourinha de relógio

- 1 Sida nudata Gand.; Sida acuta; Sida rhombifolia Burn.; Baccharis aphylla D.C..
- 3 Yes (I.2) but rarely.
- 5 Desc..
- 7 Yes (I.2) but rarely. Cf. Vianna Filho 1946:120.
- 9 Also called zunzu or zanzo.

Velaminho

- 1 Croton campestris St. Hil..
- 2 Onolú (Bastide 1961:166, 167 note 53, 193).
- 3 Yes (C.5).
- 4 Af..
- 5 Desc.; no (S.6).
- 9 Placed inside pillow to protect against moléstia do ar. Also called velame.

Vencetudo

- 1 Rolandra argenta.
- 2 Cgun.
- 3 Yes (S.6 only).
- 4 Af..
- 5 Desen.; desc.; ab.; am..
- 6 Yes.
- 8 Pick between 3.30 and 5.00 a.m..
- 9 One of the principal leaves used in fumigation.
Can also be included in patuás.

APPENDIX 2

<u>Acacia hostilis</u> Benth.	jurema preta
<u>Acacia jurema</u> Mart.	jurema preta
<u>Acalypha communis</u> Muell.	tapa buraco
<u>Acanthospermum xanthioides</u> D.C.	juiz de paz
<u>Achyrocline satureioides</u> D.C.	folha de marcela
<u>Adiantum capillus-veneris</u> L.	avenca
<u>Ageratum conyzoides</u> L.	mentrasto
<u>Allium oleraceum</u> L.	appetit
<u>Allium schoenoprasum</u> L.	appetit
<u>Amomum cardamomum</u> L.	água de levante
<u>Anacyclus aureus</u>	malva branca
<u>Andropogon nardus</u> L.	capim de caboclo
<u>Andropogon saccharoides</u> Sw.	capim de caboclo
<u>Andropogon sorghum</u> Brot.	capim de caboclo
<u>Aristolochia cymbifera</u> Mart.	jarrinha
<u>Artocarpus heterophyllus</u>	jaqueira
<u>Baccharis aphylla</u> D.C.	vassourinha de relógio
<u>Baccharis genistifolia</u> D.C.	carqueja
<u>Blanchetia heterotricha</u> D.C.	Maria preta
<u>Bumelia sartorum</u> Mart.	rompegibão
<u>Bursera leptophleos</u>	umburana
<u>Byrsonima sericia</u> D.C.	muricí
<u>Caesalpinia pyramidalis</u> Tul.	catinga de porco
<u>Casearia brasiliensis</u>	São Gonçalinho
<u>Casearia lingua</u> Camb.	São Gonçalinho

<u>Casearia sylvestre</u> Sw.	São Gonçálinho
<u>Cassia occidentalis</u> L.	fedegoso
<u>Cassia tora</u> L.	matapasso
<u>Cephaelis ipecacuanha</u> A. Rich.	purga do campo
<u>Cestrum laevigatum</u> Sch.	coerana
<u>Chaptalia tomentosa</u> Vent.	língua de vaca
<u>Chenopodium ambrosioides</u> L.	mastruz
<u>Citrus aurantium</u> L.	folha de laranja da terra
<u>Citrus medica</u> L.	folha de limão
<u>Coccoloba latifolia</u>	folha de urubú
<u>Coccoloba saggitifolia</u>	folha de urubú
<u>Cocos coronata</u> Mart.	nicurí de caboclo
<u>Cocos schizophylla</u> Mart.	nicurí de caboclo
<u>Cola acuminata</u> Schott. & Endl.	obi
<u>Cola vera</u> Schum.	obi
<u>Commelina communis</u> V.	marianinha
<u>Commelina deficiens</u> Heber.	marianinha
<u>Commelina nudiflora</u> L.	marianinha
<u>Commelina virginica</u> L.	marianinha
<u>Convolvulus contortus</u> Vell.	jitirana
<u>Costus spicatus</u> Sw.	sangolovo
<u>Crocus sativus</u> L.	azafrão
<u>Croton campestris</u> St. Hil.	velaminho
<u>Cuphea balsamona</u> Cham.	sete chagas
<u>Cyperus compressus</u> L.	barba de bode
<u>Cyperus esculentus</u> L.	dandá
<u>Cyperus longus</u> L.	dandá

<u>Cyperus rotundus</u> L.	dandá
<u>Dichromena ciliata</u> Vahl.	capim estrela
<u>Elaeis guineensis</u> Jacq.	dendê
<u>Elephantopus scaber</u> L.	fumo brabo
<u>Erythrina corallodendron</u> L.	murungu
<u>Erythrina mulungu</u> M.	murungu
<u>Esenbeckia febrifuga</u> Juss.	tirateima
<u>Eugenia michelii</u> Lam.	pitanga
<u>Euphorbia pillulifera</u> L.	corredeira
<u>Ficus doliaria</u> M.	gameleira
<u>Gomphrena globosa</u> L.	suspiro branco
<u>Gossypium hirsutum</u> L.	folha de algodão
<u>Guettarda angelica</u> Mart.	angélica
<u>Hedychium coronarium</u> Koen.	narciso branco
<u>Helianthus annuus</u> L.	girassol
<u>Hybanthus ipecacuanha</u> Bail.	purga do campo
<u>Hyptis pectinata</u> Poit.	folha de neve
<u>Ionidium ipecacuanha</u> Vent.	purga do campo
<u>Ipomoea littoralis</u> Boiss.	salsa da praia
<u>Ipomoea pes-caprae</u> Forsk.	salsa da praia
<u>Jatropha curcas</u> L.	pinhão branco
<u>Jatropha gossypifolia</u> Muell.	pinhão roxo
<u>Jatropha oligandra</u> Muell.	cansanção
<u>Jatropha urens</u> L.	cansanção
<u>Kalanchoe brasiliensis</u>	folha da Costa
<u>Kanimia</u>	abre caminhos
<u>Kyllinga odorata</u> Vahl.	capim santo

<u>Lavandula spica</u> L.	alfazema
<u>Lavandula vera</u>	alfazema
<u>Leonurus sibiricus</u> L.	cordão de São Francisco
<u>Lepidum bonariense</u> L.	mastruz
<u>Lilium candidum</u> L.	lirio branco
<u>Lygodium polymorphum</u> H.B.K.	sambombaia de caboclo
<u>Marjorana hortensis</u>	manjerona
<u>Melissa officinalis</u> L.	erva cidreira
<u>Mentha pulegium</u> L.	poejo
<u>Mentha viridis</u> L.	hortelã grosso
<u>Miconia albicans</u>	canela de velho
<u>Mimosa nigra</u> Hub.	jurema preta
<u>Mirabilis jalapa</u> L.	bonina
<u>Momordica charantia</u> L.	São Caetano
<u>Monniera trifolia</u> L.	favaquinha de cobra
<u>Musa</u>	banana
<u>Myristica fragrans</u> Houtt.	noz moscada
<u>Myrtus communis</u> L.	murta
<u>Ocimum basilicum</u> L.	manjerição
<u>Ocimum fluminensis</u> V.	alfavaca
<u>Ocimum guineensis</u> Sch.	quiroyó
<u>Opuntia burbanki</u>	palma
<u>Opuntia dillenii</u> Haw.	palma
<u>Opuntia tuna</u> Mill.	palma
<u>Panicum crus-ardeae</u> Willd.	nativo
<u>Panicum elongatum</u> Poir.	nativo

<u>Passiflora alata</u> Ait.	maracujá
<u>Passiflora bahiensis</u> Klotzsch.	maracujá
<u>Pavonia cancelata</u>	jeribão
<u>Peltodon radicans</u>	folha santa
<u>Petiveria alliacea</u> L.	guiné
<u>Petrea volubilis</u> Jacq.	sapatinho de Nossa Senhora
<u>Philodendron imbé</u> Schott.	imbé
<u>Pilea microphylla</u>	brilhantina
<u>Piper aduncum</u> Vell.	tapa buraco
<u>Piper eucaliptifolium</u> Rudge	betis cheiroso
<u>Pluchea quitoc</u> D.C.	quitoco
<u>Plumbago scandens</u> L.	louco branco
<u>Plumeria aurantia</u> Lodd.	jasmim do plario
<u>Plumeria lutea</u> R. & P.	jasmim do plario
<u>Polygala paniculata</u> L.	barba de São Pedro
<u>Polygonum acre</u> H.B.K.	capiçoba
<u>Pothos quadrangularis</u>	folha de urubú
<u>Psidium araçá</u> Rad.	araçá de porco
<u>Psidium cuneatum</u> Camb.	araçá de porco
<u>Psidium humile</u> Vel.	araçá de porco
<u>Renealmia brasiliensis</u> Schum.	água de levante
<u>Rhoeo discolor</u> Hanc.	barquinho de Noé
<u>Ricinus communis</u> L.	folha de mamona
<u>Rolandra argenta</u>	vencetudo
<u>Rosmarinus officinalis</u> L.	alecrim
<u>Ruta graveolens</u> L.	arruda
<u>Sambucus australis</u> L.	sabugueiro

<u>Sambucus nigra</u> L.	sabugueiro
<u>Sansevieria trifasciata laurentii</u>	espada de Oxossi
<u>Sansevieria zeylanica</u> Willd.	espada de Ogun
<u>Schinus molle</u> L.	aroeira
<u>Scoparia dulcis</u> L.	vassourinha de Nossa Senhora
<u>Sida acuta</u>	vassourinha de relógio
<u>Sida micrantha</u> St. Hil.	malva risco
<u>Sida nudata</u> Gand.	vassourinha de relógio
<u>Sida rhombifolia</u> Burm.	vassourinha de relógio
<u>Solanum agrarium</u> Sendt.	melancia da praia
<u>Solanum balbisii</u> Dum.	melancia da praia
<u>Solanum paniculatum</u> L.	jurubeba
<u>Solanum pulverulentum</u>	caiçara
<u>Sparattanthelium botucudorum</u>	arco de barris
<u>Spondias cytherea</u>	cajá
<u>Stachys fluminensis</u>	catanga de crioula
<u>Struthanthus brasiliensis</u>	erva de passarinho
<u>Struthanthus vulgaris</u>	erva de passarinho
<u>Talinum patens</u> Willd.	lingua de vaca
<u>Tapirira guianensis</u> Aubl.	pau pombo
<u>Urena lobata</u> L.	malva risco
<u>Vernonia bahiensis</u> Toledo	aluman
<u>Vernonia membranacea</u> Gardn.	assapeixe branco
<u>Viola ipecacuanha</u> L.	purga do campo
<u>Vismia brasiliensis</u> Choisy.	capianga
<u>Wedelia paludosa</u> D.C.	malmequer

Xanthium spinosum L.

juiz de paz

Xanthoxylum rhoifolium Lam.

espinho cheiroso

Xylopia

bejerecum

Zebrina pendula Schnitzl.

sapatinho de Nossa
Senhora

Zinnia elegans Jacq.

canela de velho

APPENDIX 3

The International Phonetic Alphabet is used in all transcriptions.

Page

139	ε'ʒε
279 No. 1	sakol'ε sakol'ε ʒĩ: ʒĩ:
No. 2	sa'kwende kwa sa'kwende kwe
No. 3	sakane'ne ta'te
No. 4	ʒε tru'a ʒε tru'a ʒε tru'a
280 No. 6	oi'ju pe pe pe oi'ju pe pe pa oi'ju pe pe pe
283 No. 13	'ʒeregede
No. 14	ta'ta
284 No. 16	kebelu'za
	'kwele 'kwele ʒamba'la
No. 18	ε ta'ta ki: malem'be
285 No. 23	gɔ'ro gɔ'si: na ʒo
No. 24	lɔko'ja mwi:
286 No. 30	εu'wa εu'wa εu'wa εw'we
289 No. 36	'kere ke're

APPENDIX 4The question of payment

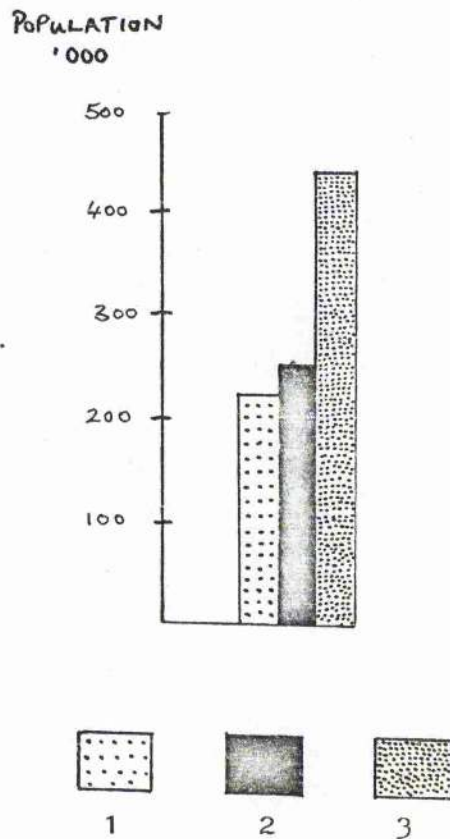
A very significant feature in curing ritual is that of payment. All curandeiros interviewed mentioned how important it was that any ritual, however small, should be accompanied by payment. Their main reason for insisting on this was so that the ritual itself would retain its power, ritual without payment being considered worthless. This is by no means primarily concerned with personal gain, although charges are levied in a very flexible manner and only in accordance with the economic standing of the patient. When I was investigating herbs I had to pay informants a minimum sum (of approximately a halfpenny each) for each herb, a specimen of which was picked and given to me for examination. Again, it was considered in this instance that the herbs might lose their power if their secrets were passed on to me without payment.

Payment for ritual is never referred to as pagamento (payment) but as troca (exchange), and this terminology extends into the purchase of any article connected with ritual. Hence, for example, herbs in the market are not 'purchased' but 'exchanged', and people use the expression: 'vou trocar ervas', meaning 'I am going to buy herbs'¹.

¹ Various sources support this view. Cf. Lima 1946:14; Maynard Araújo 1958:148, 1961:93, 99, 145, 191; Oliveira 1948:87; Pierson 1951:149.

I feel that this may be linked to the notion that evil may be avoided with a coin. The coin is not looked upon as payment but as a commodity used in order to barter. Evil is exchanged for money and the word trocar survives to reinforce this notion.

It is very common, particularly after a sacudida or ebó ritual, for the curandeiro to fumigate the money received in payment, and this reflects the idea that it has indeed been received in exchange for the evil force that has been removed. Moreover, the practice of keeping the payment for the carregador do ebó (known as dinheiro do chão) separate from that of the curandeiro reinforces this view as well in that the carregador has to transport to a suitable place all the substances contaminated in the course of the ritual. The carregador also lacks the protection afforded to the curandeiro by the nature of his office. The dinheiro do chão is left at the scene of the ritual and either placed inside a small box on which the patient sits, or placed under his left foot (see above, 265). This is akin to the instance in Greece recorded by Hardie (1923:166) in which the wise woman tramples a coin given to her in payment for curing the evil eye in case the evil has passed into it. Maclagan (1902 1st ed. 1972:30) mentions how the giving of a silver coin protects against the evil eye.

APPENDIX 5Racial Composition of the Recôncavo

Key: 1 white
2 Negro
3 mixed

Reproduced by Henshall and Momsen (1974:222)
from Atlas Nacional do Brasil, I.B.G.E., 1966,
Plate V-1.

GLOSSARYAbaluayé

see Omolú

abó

ritual bath

abrir (abre) caminhosliterally open the ways;
resolve difficultiesacaçáballs of ground maize
cooked in water and
wrapped in banana
leavesacarajéa fried maize cake often
served with a hot,
spicy sauce, and sold
in the street.afastar

to repel; to drive away

alguidarearthenware bowl in
which the ebó is placedalho macho/fêmeomale and female garlic,
male garlic being long
and thin and female
garlic squat and
rounded.amasi

ritual bath

ar

ill wind

ar de mortorather akin to mofina de morto but the ar de morto is never seen.
The dead person's spirit
lingers near the living
and distracts them.atotó Babáthe cry of salutation
for Omolúatraer

to attract

Babáfather. Term of
affection for Omolúbabalorixápai de santobanhoritual bath. Also
known as banho de cheirobanho de descarga/discarrego

a ritual bath

banho de desenvolvimento

a ritual bath

bori

a ritual that takes place in the cult house involving the sacrifice of an animal, the blood of which must be drunk by the person on whom the bori is being performed. For further details see 56.

breve

amulet. See Chapter VIII

brincadeira

game, from brincar, to jump

búzios

cowrie shells

caboclo

Indian spirit

cachaça

sugar cane brandy

camarinha

literally small room. The room in the cult house where initiation takes place. Also known as ile orixá

Candomblé

African religion in Bahia. See particularly Chapter II

Candomblé de caboclo

for a full definition of this term see 57ff.

carregador (do ebó)

the person who carries away the ebó and dumps it in a suitable place

consulta

consultation between a person and a pai/mãe de santo

contas

beads worn by cult initiates

copo de vidência

a glass of water used for divination in a spirit session

de corpo limpo

ritually clean body. Cf. corpo sujo

de corpo sujo

ritually soiled body. Cf. corpo limpo

<u>corrente</u>	literally current, but see 42 and 231 note 41.
<u>curandeirismo</u>	folk medicine, curing
<u>curandeiro</u>	one who practises <u>curandeirismo</u> , curer
<u>degredado</u>	criminal, religious or political exile
<u>despacho da porta</u>	for a description of this ritual see 153.
<u>desquitado(a)</u>	one who is separated
<u>desquite</u>	legal separation of man and wife
<u>dinheiro do chão</u>	floor money. Money left on the floor during an <u>ebó</u> ritual in payment of the <u>carregador do ebó's</u> services
<u>ebó</u>	for the meaning of this word see Chapter X
<u>egun</u>	spirit of the dead
<u>encorrentar</u>	literally to pass a current but see 231 note 41.
<u>engenho</u>	sugar plantation and mill
<u>epa hei</u>	a cry of salutation for Yansan
<u>eré</u>	semi-trance; the intermediary stage between the normal and the ecstatic state; a state of calm, childish ecstasy
<u>espírito</u>	spirit
<u>Exú</u>	one of the <u>orixás</u> . Syncretised with the Devil. The god of mischief. The term Exú may also mean an evil spirit

Exú éthe cry of salutation
for Exúfechar o corpoto close/seal the body
against evil influencesfigaan amulet carved in the
shape of a clenched fist
with the thumb clasped
between the fore and
middle fingers.filho(a) de santoinitiated and fully-
participant male or fe-
male cult member.
Literally son or daughter
of the saintsfluídoliterally fluid trans-
mitted by a spirit.fulanoroughly equivalent to
so-and-soguia

guide

Ibejiorixás (the twins).
Syncretised with Cosme
and Damian. They are
the patrons of all
childrenile orixásee camarinhainfluência ruimbad/evil influence that
may contribute to illnessingolosiformal prayers sung at
specific times during
the day in the cult house.
Also sung during the
preparation of pembainvidia

envy

irmão de luzliterally spirit of
light i.e. one who is
free from all evilkawó Xangôkabiyesi lethe cry of salutation
for Xangô

<u>limpar</u>	to clean .
<u>limpeza (de corpo)</u>	cleansing (of the body), but see <u>ebó</u> .
<u>limpeza das águas</u>	cleansing by the waters. Part of the <u>ebó</u> ritual.
<u>limpeza dos astres</u>	cleansing by the stars. Part of the <u>ebó</u> ritual.
<u>Macumba</u>	name of an African religion in the south of Brazil (particularly in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo)
<u>mãe de santo</u>	a high priestess in the <u>Candomblé</u> cult. Literally mother of the saints
<u>mãe pequena</u>	assistant to the <u>mãe</u> <u>de santo</u>
<u>malembé</u>	mercy
<u>maracá</u>	gourd rattle
<u>massapé</u>	type of soil in the Recôncavo which is particularly suited to the cultivation of sugar and tobacco
<u>mau de olho</u>	evil eye
<u>mau olhado</u>	evil eye
<u>milho</u>	maize
<u>mofina/mofina de morto</u>	the spirit of a dead person who haunts the living
<u>moléstia do ar</u>	illness brought by the ill wind
<u>mulato(a)</u>	the meaning of this term in the context of this study is given on 23 note 19.

Nagô

the common language of the original Yoruba-speaking tribes in Africa.

Naná

one of the orixás.
Syncretised with St. Anne.
The old Matriarch of the Yoruba pantheon of deities.

Obaluayé

see Omolú

obi

a ritual that takes place in the cult house. An obi nut is cut into 4 sections and placed on the scalp. For further details see 56.

obrigação

literally obligation. The word is used to refer to any sacrifice or offering to the orixás.

oferenda aos caboclos

offering to the caboclos.
Part of the ebó ritual.

ogã

male holder of post of responsibility within the terreiro.

Ogun

one of the orixás.
Syncretised with St. Anthony.
The god of war.

Ogun ye

the cry of salutation for Ogun.

olhado

evil eye.

olho grosso

evil eye.

olho mal (mau)

evil eye.

Olorun

one of the orixás.
Syncretised with God the Father.

Omolú

one of the orixás.
Syncretised with SS. Lazarus and Roche. The God of disease, particularly smallpox. Also known as Obaluayé and Abaluayé.

orixá

god. The god to whom a person may be dedicated within the terms of the Candomblé religion.

otá

stones that represent the orixás. They are kept in the peji.

Oxalá

one of the orixás. Syncretised with Jesus Christ.

Oxossi

One of the orixás. Syncretised with St. George. The god of the hunt.

Oxun

one of the orixás. Syncretised with the Virgin Mary. The goddess of fresh water and fertility

oya

a cry of salutation for Yansan. It is also one of her other names

pade de Exú

offering made to Exú at the beginning of most rituals. Also known as despacho de Exú

pagé

shaman

pai de santo

a high priest in the Candomblé cult. Literally father of the saints

Pará

name of an African religion in Porto Alegre

passe; dar um passe

for the meaning of this term see 231 note 42.

patuá

amulet. See Chapter VIII

peji

sanctuary in the cult house

pemba/pemba preparada

a white powder made from crushed dried herbs. See Chapter VII

pemba de Exú, pemba preta

a black powder used for evil purposes. See Chapter VII

ponto riscado

cabbalistic sign usually drawn with pemba

presidente

president

quebranto(e)

overlooking

queda de orixá

literally fall of the orixá. The term refers to the moment when a person is possessed by his orixá for the first time.

rezar

to pray while brushing a sprig of leaves over the affected area. See Chapter IX

sacudida

a ritual beating with specific herbs. See Chapter IV

santo

saint

seita

sect

senhor de engenho

sugar plantation owner

Sertão

interior hinterland that stretches from Bahia northwards to Ceará

sessão espírita

séance, spirit session

terreiro

cult house

trabalho

work, but see ebó

Umbanda

religion in the south of Brazil, particularly Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo

urubú

a large black bird that feeds on carrion - Cathartes foetens, C. (C.A.)

vento mal

ill wind

Xangô

name of an African religion in Recife. Also one of the orixás. Syncretised with St. Jerome. Controls thunder

Yansan

one of the orixás. Syncretised with St. Barbara. Goddess of the thunderbolt.

Yemanjá

one of the orixás. Syncretised with the Virgin Mary. The goddess of salt water and fertility

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PHOTOGRAPHS

- 1 Cult initiates in the eré trance state (with their children).
- 2 Espada de Oxossi and espada de Ogun at the entrance to a brothel in Cachoeira.
- 3 The quitanda: the initiate beats with a stick those who try to steal her goods from the tray. This ritual is linked with warding off the evil eye.
- 4 Spirit session. Note the copo de vidência, candles, flowers and participants' clothing.
- 5 Three small acarajés prepared specially for Exú; a form of pade de Exú.
- 6 A tooth worn as an amulet. Note contas and cowrie shells.
- 7 Cabbalistic signs being drawn on the floor before the commencement of a trabalho. Note the leaves for sacudida and the contas worn by the curandeiro.
- 8 Winding cotton thread around the patients' bodies.
- 9 Cockerel used as scapegoat during a trabalho.
- 10 Cutting the cotton towards the end of a trabalho.
- 11 Sacudida with banana leaves. Note contas.
- 12 Gunpowder being lit at the end of a trabalho.
- 13 Patient encircled by a ring of candles during limpeza dos astres ritual.
- 14 (I.2) possessed by Oxossi at the beginning of a consulta. Note statue of St. George and copo de vidência.
- 15 Herbs and censer for fumigation.
- 16 Fumigation of the patient's body.
- 17 'Broken' sacrifice to Exú for evil purposes left at crossroads.
- 18 Sacrifice to Exú at a crossroads.
- 19 Ritual sacrifice in the peji. Note knife and bank note.
- 20 Filha de santo possessed by Yansan. Note contas.

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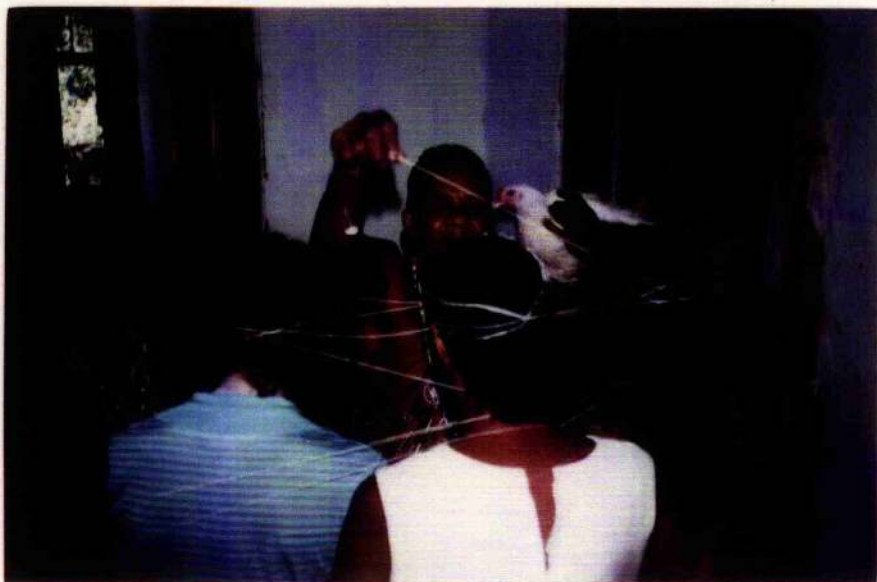
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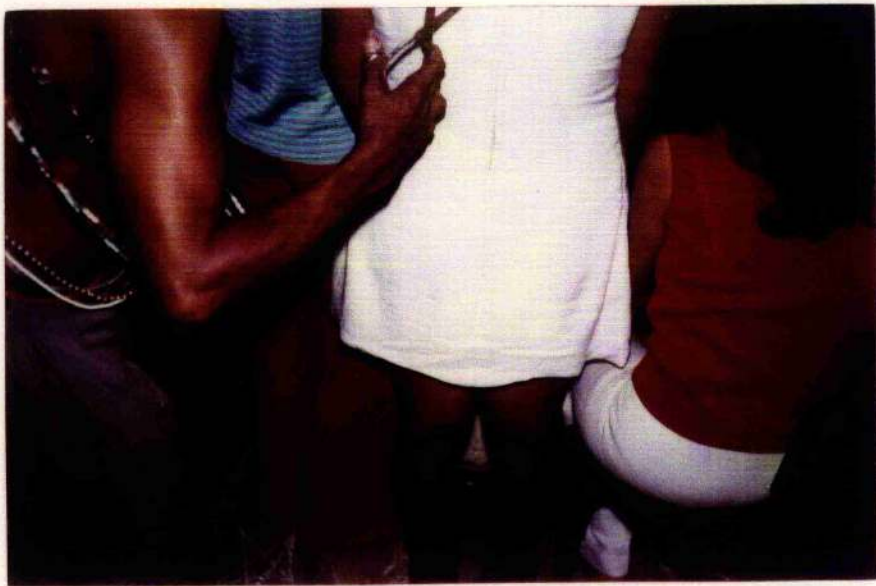
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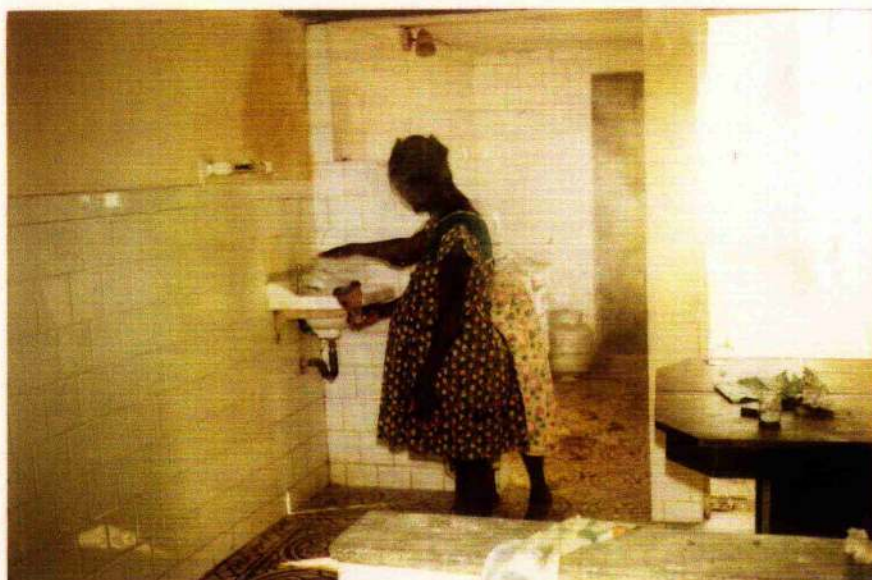
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